Special Election Issue: Complete Ballot Analysis

# California JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 2002
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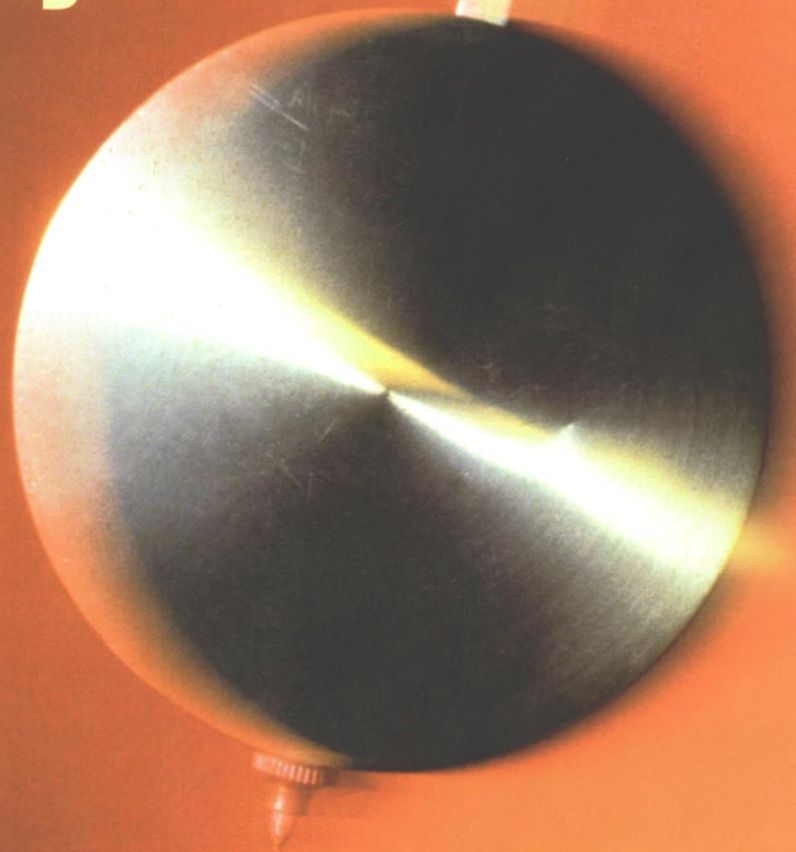
## Are Democrats here to stay?

## Or will the pendulum swing back?



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# What do these jobs have to do with cows?

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## With 122,000 jobs and $17.5 billion in economic activity, dairy is more than milk.

California's 2,300 dairies produce 3.5 billion gallons of milk each year. Milk doesn't stay on the farm—and where it goes, jobs follow: To processors, where not only the state's famous cheese is made, but ice cream, yogurt and dozens of other products. That leads to more jobs: for truckers, packaging makers, food marketers and many others. Producing milk doesn't start at the dairy farm, either. Dairies create jobs for people who grow and ship feed for cattle, and for those who provide veterinary and other farm services, insurance, bookkeeping, banking and more. And like all of us, employees of the dairy industry buy goods and services. Groceries. Gifts. Automobiles. Clothing. That means more jobs for more people. In all, California's dairy industry creates 122,000 jobs for Californians and $17.5 billion in economic activity. In the dairy-rich San Joaquin Valley, nearly 67,000 people—5 percent of the work force—depend on the dairy industry for employment. So we can thank our dairy farm families not only for the milk they produce, and for the cheese, butter and ice cream made from it, but for helping tens of thousands of Californians to have a better life.

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California JOURNAL
February 2002
Volume XXXIII, Number 2

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Water, water ...
**By Dana Wilkie**

## Pendulum politics

Political maneuvering over policy gets plenty of buzz in Sacramento. But nothing will make more difference on taxes, education, health care and other issues than the party in power. So here's the bottom line: Is this state locked up for Democrats? Our cover story puts the question to a computer—and finds some unexpected results. Inside this special election issue you'll also find a comprehensive overview of the March 5 primary. This is the information you need to follow every race on the California ballot. Our pages name all of the candidates in 165 contests. And we provide expert analysis on each statewide office, dozens of competitive primaries and all of the ballot measures. Finally, millions of dollars in contributions will be redirected this year by California's new campaign finance rules. We'll show you how.

David Lesher

## A decline to state?

Over the past six years, Democrats have come to dominate California politics. But as research from the Public Policy Institute of California shows, Democratic candidates have prospered while Democratic voter registration has plunged.
**By David Lesher**

## Election 2002

*California Journal's* extensive coverage of the March 2002 primary election.

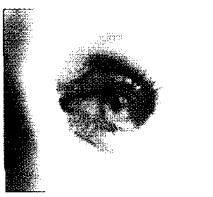
## Governor

Gray Davis enters the election season with shaky poll numbers, a mind-numbing budget deficit and three Republican hopefuls taking shots at him rather than at each other.
**By David Lesher**

## Constitutional officers

A look at down-ticket races for the other constitutional offices, including heated contests for controller, insurance commissioner, secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction.

## Congress and the Legislature



Thanks to a status-quo redistricting plan, only 33 districts — out of 153 involved in Election 2002 — feature meaningful primary races. The *Journal* applies its microscope to those 33 contests, while providing a list of candidates and relevant registration information for the remaining 120. We also take a detailed look at the six ballot propositions, including an effort to amend the state's term-limit law. See pages:

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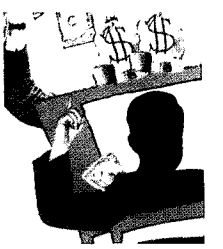
## Campaign finance



Proposition 34 was designed to reform the way California campaigns are financed. Instead, it has spawned a new cottage industry — independent expenditures — and no one quite knows how this will play out in 2002.
**By Bill Ainsworth**

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## umbrage

**Gag on this.** Ask an official from the California Teachers' Association what he or she thinks of the testing mania now permeating the state's public-school classrooms, and you'll likely get an answer that cannot be printed in a family magazine. The CTA's main gripe centers on the way classroom culture has been warped by the performance-awards program, which gives cash grants to schools and teachers for improving statewide, SAT 9 test scores. Despite its official stance, the CTA sometimes advises individual teachers not to speak out against testing or to tell parents that they have the legal right to opt out of the test. At least one Northern California teacher recently was notified by a CTA attorney that she was the subject of a district investigation because she had violated the terms of her contract. In essence, the CTA-negotiated contract contained a gag order on testing, and the teacher was accused of telling parents they were not required to have their children take the SAT 9. In this case, however, the teacher wasn't advising the parents of her students; she was counseling other parents in her own child's class — in a different school. That advice reportedly led to a large number of parents opting out, which raised red flags with school and district administrators. If too many students at a particular school don't take the test, the school itself may not qualify for performance awards.

Asked about this schizophrenic approach, CTA President Wayne Johnson said the statewide organization would make sure that teachers aren't gagged. "It's not right if teachers advise parents of the law and get into trouble for it," Johnson said, adding that lawyers should not make policy for the organization. "It's time to make this a cause."

Meanwhile, the CTA attorney advised the teacher to stop counseling parents — in other words, to go along with the gag order.

**Save this.** Even though Governor Gray Davis thumped the podium during his State of the State address when he said education would receive full funding this year, schools are bracing for cuts as Davis tries to close a $12 billion hole in the 2002-2003 budget. And several lawmakers are eyeing $300 million worth of education money as one way to offset draconian cuts. That's the pool of cash set aside for performance awards (see above). Some legislators think that money could be spent more wisely than for a program that last year proved both controversial and litigious.

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**Corrections.** A key phrase in last month's column by Contributing Editor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe was inadvertently omitted (see "Southern Exposure," *CJ*, January 2002). Referring to Richard Riordan's 1993 victory over Mike Woo for mayor of Los Angeles, we printed, "... He [Riordan] won 43 percent of the Latino vote and beat Woo, a Democratic campaign lynchpin from Davis' political home." It should have read: "... He [Riordan] won 43 percent of the Latino vote and beat Woo *on the Westside*, a Democratic campaign lynchpin from Davis' political home."

**Map book.** Our booklet showing new congressional, state Senate and Assembly districts contained two mistakes. First, the counties listed under Assembly District 80 should be Imperial and Riverside, not Imperial and San Diego. Finally, the Assembly's statewide map shows two districts labeled "30." The real AD 30 lies in the middle of the state. The huge chunk on the California-Nevada border is AD 34.


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# Treading Lightly

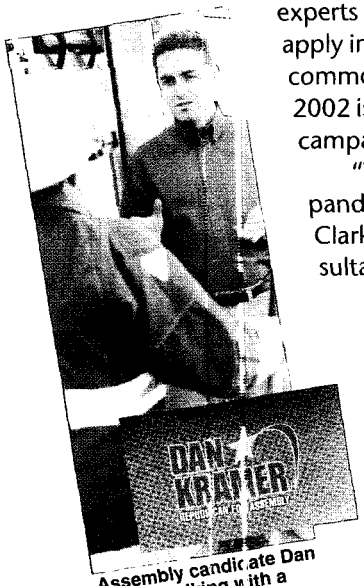
## fallout

The terrorist attack on America has already proven to be a powerful force in public opinion. Many politicians, especially President Bush, have seen their approval ratings climb in the aftermath. But political experts say the same benefit doesn't apply in a campaign. In fact, the most common advice for the candidates of 2002 is to avoid September 11th as a campaign prop.

"The public has no stomach for pandering on this one," says Tim Clark, a Republican political consultant.

The tragic events of last fall did much to unify the country. However, most political consultants agree that flames gushing from the Twin Towers, firefighters scrambling to rescue burn victims and grieving families are off the table in campaign paraphernalia.

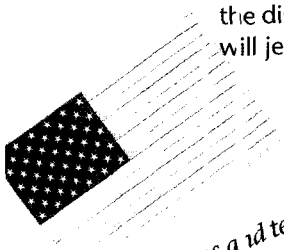
Any endorsement by a local firefighters' group is likely to inspire images of rugged firemen, like this one for a slate of council candidates in El Cerrito.



Assembly candidate Dan Kramer talking with a firefighter in his campaign brochure

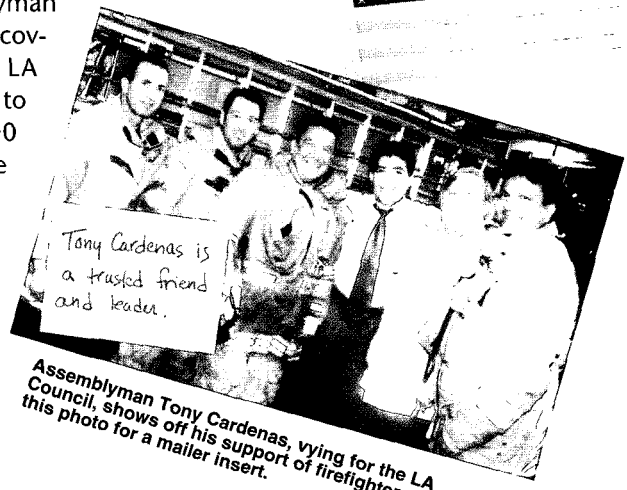
In fact, candidates endorsed by the California Professional Firefighters Association were warned that the endorsement did not come with bragging rights about connections to heroic firefighters in New York. Any CPF-backed candidate who "makes improper use of the disturbing images of the September 11th attacks" will jeopardize their endorsement, said a letter from Shawnda Westly, political director of the 28,000-member organization. But that doesn't mean candidates aren't featuring firefighters or playing up a patriotic note in their campaign literature, television ads and speeches. It's no coincidence that flags — big and small — are creeping into campaign photos in subtle and not so subtle ways. Assembly candidate Andrei Cherny is featured on his Web site as a baby holding the American flag. Assemblyman Tony Cardenas, who won a coveted endorsement by LA firefighters, put volunteers to work distributing 30,000 American flags to voters in the Los Angeles, where he's trying to win a spot on the City Council.

Andrei Cherny, running for Assemblyman in the 40th district, sporting his 4th of July patriotism as a child.



*"Because the images and text relating the September 11th tragedy are still stark reminders to our members of their fallen brothers and sisters, we are asking for your sensitivity to this issue and to the proper use of our name and likeness in reference to the tragedy."*

*— California Professional Firefighters Association, letter to endorsed candidates*



Assemblyman Tony Cardenas, vying for the LA Council, shows off his support of firefighters in this photo for a mailer insert.

However sensitive the terrorist attacks may be as a campaign message, there's one way candidates have a very real connection to its painful aftereffects. September 11th came at what would have otherwise been a crucial fund-raising stretch. "It was right after the Legislature was out of session, but no one felt like doing any fund raising and no one felt it was appropriate," said Democratic political consultant Gale Kaufman.

*— CJ Editors*

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# Campaign Watch:

## Artful favors

When March Fong Eu abandoned retirement last year for a political comeback as candidate for secretary of state, she also had to face up to the grizzly reality of campaigns. Even if you've already served in the Assembly and labored five terms as secretary of state, as has Eu, it takes money to make a household name of yourself.

The 80-year-old political veteran who needs to raise a lot of money, claims she is loathe to trade political favors for campaign cash. But she does have something to offer contributors who pony up the green stuff for her campaign effort. Donations of $500 or more are rewarded with her own paintings and books, the fruits of her lifelong work as an accomplished artist.

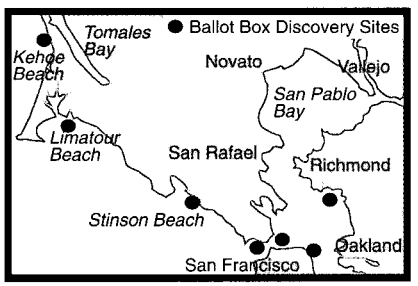
By tuning into her Web site at www.marchfongeu.org, potential donors can peruse a selection of her works, which Eu has written off as a $550,000 donation to her campaign. Smaller contributors are welcome to signed lithographs. For those who can part with more cash, $5,000 buys an original oil painting. "Good Luck Fish," for example, features two Koi fish in an oozy sepia-toned pond. The accompanying description offers that the painting depicts "fish swimming happily bringing good luck to each other and you." Now what more could any self-respecting donor hope for?

# Buried Treasure:

## Suitable for framing

Artist Judith Selby is no stranger to the strand of Northern California beachfront known as Kehoe Beach. Nor is she surprised when she finds all manner of trash from "Tiparillo tips and tampon applicators" lying in the dull gray sand.

That's why Selby is there. To collect trash that drifts up on shore and turn it into art. But in December when Selby caught the glint of brilliant red peeking out from twisted strands of seaweed, she knew she was onto something unique.




What Selby found was one more of the 63 lids from boxes used to transport and store absentee and provisional ballots missing from the most recent San Francisco election. In the last few months, nine lids have turned up floating in the restless bay waters or washed up over a 15-mile span of the Golden Gate shoreline.

It's one of many pieces of evidence that raise questions about polling results and elections management in San Francisco. While San Francisco supervisors ponder a full recount of the November election in an effort to solve the mystery of the missing box tops *and* to determine why 240 uncounted ballots were found after election officials finalized the controversial public power measure defeated by just 533 votes, Selby has already crafted an interpretative art work from her latest treasure.

With the help of partner Richard Lang, the lid has been photographed and made into a poster available at www.trilliumprints.com. The message it conveys: "Cast your vote...away," a message Selby says captures the "sad plight of our electoral process."

*— Compiled by CJ Editors*

# Quotables.....

"This is why [Riordan's] going to be a great challenge for the Democrats. He will show up and appeal to people that Republicans have too long ignored."

— Democratic Senate President John Burton speaking before the Greenlining Institute



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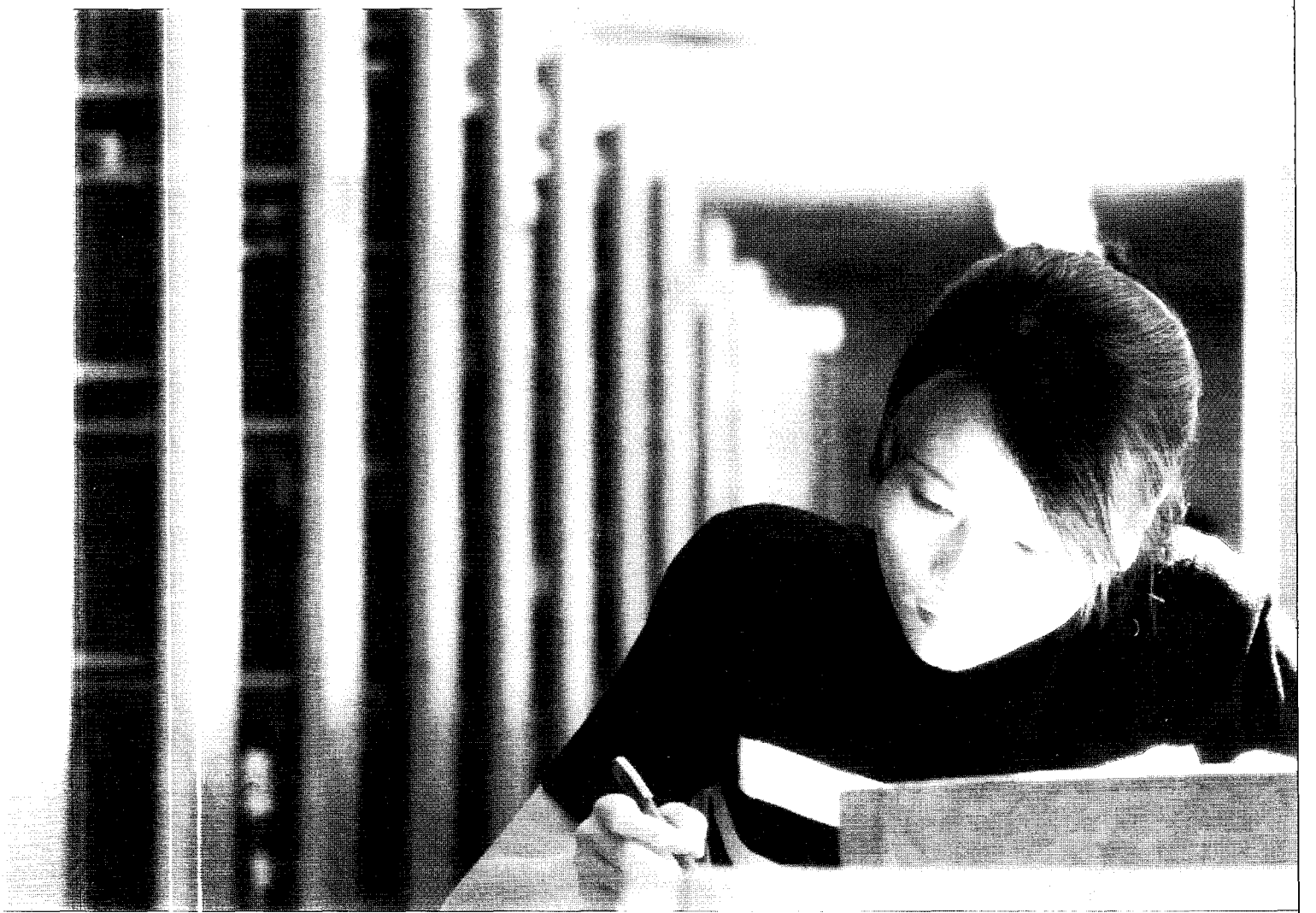
# *It's not just stocks and bonds you should be investing in...*



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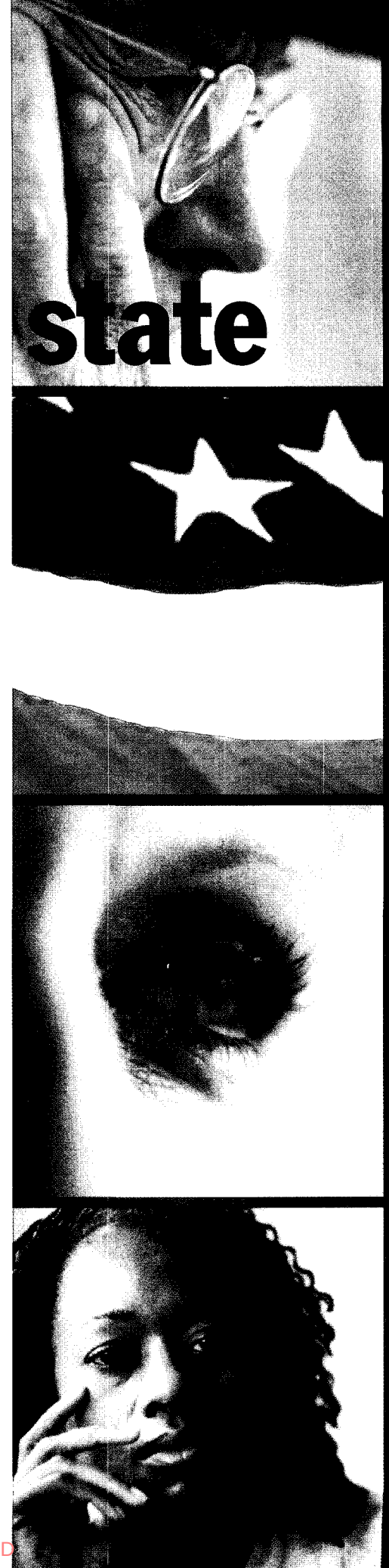
# California: The decline to state



## OUT: Republicans and Democrats.
## IN: Decline-to-state voters.

**California Democrats are on a political winning streak because Latino and independent voters are turning on to politics like never before. But party loyalty is asking a lot of these newcomers. And without them, a sweeping computer analysis reveals the Incredibly Shrinking Democratic Party.**

### By David Lesher

Matt Jarvis is posing queries to his computer like it was a crystal ball, asking all kinds of questions that are critical to California's future.

Why is this state voting so heavily Democratic when the party's registration is lower than it's been in 70 years? Who are these new independent voters that are taking over huge blocks of California and rewriting the strategy to win office? Is the conventional wisdom right — are Latinos turning Democrat and making California a one-party state?

The answers will tell us a lot about what it means to be a Californian in coming years. The state has undergone a structural change, shifting from a defense and agriculture economy barely a decade ago to a mix of high-tech and trade today; from a ring of suburban housing to a suburban sprawl and from a white majority population to a white plurality.

California is speaking with a new voice. And huddled in a basement carrel at the University of California, Berkeley, Matt Jarvis, an intrepid Generation-X graduate student, is trying to get a computer to tell us what it's saying. For weeks, he's been teaching the machine about California politics, downloading hundreds of



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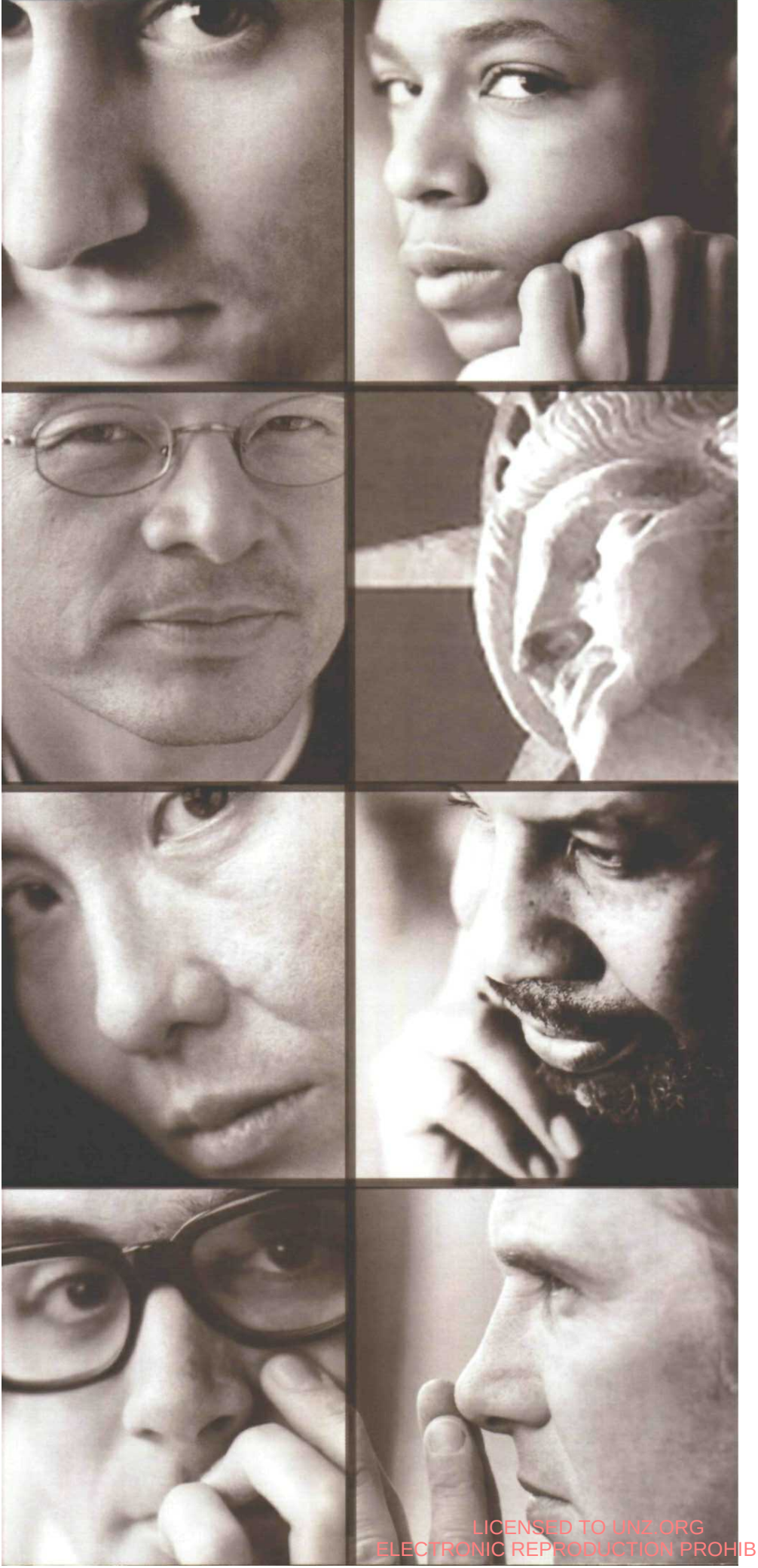

thousands of variables from a database at Berkeley's Institute for Governmental Studies, the state's official keeper of political data. Voter registration records, census reports and election tables are fed into the computer like the ingredients for a recipe.

Eventually, the database becomes a multi-dimensional model. Jarvis can zoom in to a tiny chunk of the state and see every vote in every major state and federal race since 1990; he can check how those voters registered before each election and he can watch the makeup of their community change in terms of ethnicity, college education or income. He can also zoom out and look at a colorful mosaic created by the computer as it highlights trends on the California silhouette with splashes of red, yellow, green, blue and gray.

Now comes the critical question, and the reason Jarvis was assigned to this project last summer by the Public Policy Institute of California. Are Democrats here to stay or could the political pendulum swing back again?

## The educated guess

Using a computer database to look at the future is a bit like trying to guess the next World Series winner based on the previous season's statistics. It may be fodder for a strong argument but, thankfully, baseball and politics aren't so predictable. The analysis is instructive, however, because the enormously lopsided nature of California politics today has caused a lot of speculation about whether the state's voters have moved so far to the left that they are beyond the reach of Republicans.

Just six years after the GOP had control of the governor's office and the state Assembly, Democrats now hold two-thirds of California's 186 elected offices in Sacramento and Washington, including all of the top jobs. What's more, Democrats have been winning races by wider and wider margins lately, most notably the landslide victory for Governor Gray Davis in 1998 and the 12-point win for Al Gore in 2000.

But the computer maps raise some question about whether the state's Democratic surge is a greater reflec-

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tion of changes in the electorate or in the candidates, according to several academic and political experts from both parties who viewed the database. Perhaps the voters didn't move, at least not as sharply as recent elections would indicate. Maybe both major parties slid to the right, leaving the majority of voters under the Democratic reach — for now.

The difference is critical because the answer would determine whether Republicans should give up on the state and accept a minority role — as they did in the recent redistricting process — or whether they need to win back those centrist swing votes before they solidify. GOP officials say this is a question under live discussion at the highest ranks of the state and national Republican parties.

Among the experts who viewed the database, the consensus is that California is still far from locked up for Democrats. In fact, the multi-colored maps indicate extreme trends in almost every direction, suggesting an electorate that is still in the midst of a major transformation.

The most well-known and closely watched development in recent years is the rapid growth in participation among California Latinos, long regarded as the state's political sleeping giant. Nearly 900,000 Latino voters were added between 1992 and 2000, nearly doubling the Latino electorate to about 17 percent of the state's registered voters (and about 14 percent of the recent electorate).

It is clearly the most significant trend shaping California politics, not only because of its growth but also because the Democratic share of the vote is much bigger. In 1992, Democratic U.S. Senate candidates Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer each won just more than 50 percent of the Latino vote in their first election victories, according to the *Los Angeles Times* exit poll. By 1998, Davis claimed 71 percent of a much larger Latino vote when he was elected governor.

## Other trends

But the study suggests not all of the conventional wisdom is right about the Latino vote, particularly whether its Democratic margin will remain so high. At the same time, it shows several other dramatic trends are simultaneously shaping the political landscape in California.

One of the most striking discoveries identified in the computer analysis is that Democrats belong to an incredibly shrinking party even as they are winning more and more lopsided races.

Despite the Latino gains, Democrats lost more than 400,000 registered voters statewide between 1992 and 2000. The party now controls barely 45 percent of the vote, a smaller portion than it has claimed since 1932. Republicans dropped below 35 percent, losing about 350,000 voters from their ranks between 1992 and 2000.

Meanwhile, the major party losses were more than offset by a surge in independent registration. Independents, defined in the study as those not registered Republican or Democrat, grew by nearly 900,000 voters during the period. In fact, if anything, the study and state records indicate that California voters are turning *on* to politics, not off. The rate of registration among those eligible to vote has climbed from 67 percent in 1991 to 72 percent last year.

Today, nearly one in five California voters is registered outside of the two major parties, nearly double the ratio that existed just a decade ago. And as quickly as the numbers have climbed, party officials say the shift could become even more popular as California holds its first election this year in which only the voters registered as "decline to state" will be allowed to select a party ballot of their choice in the upcoming March primary.

Bob Mulholland, political director of the state Democratic Party, predicts that independents will outnumber Republicans statewide within 10 years, and Democrats could fall within 20 years. Young people especially register independent "because they are used to a lot of opportunities," he said. "But at the end of the day, both of these political parties will get 90 to 95 percent of the vote in a presidential [election]."

State Senator Jim Brulte, a leader in GOP strategy, attributes much of the trend to new technology. "As information is easier to gather, I think it's normal to see a breakdown in partisanship," he said. "I think it's a reflection of a greater sophistication among voters."

Brulte and Mulholland agreed the trends demand a new strategy for winning office. Democrats plan to begin tracking independents this year by computer, eventually creating a database that will identify all of the decline-to-state voters who regularly choose a Democratic ballot in the primary. "They are going to be treated as part of the familiy versus another one who may be treated as a swing voter," Mulholland said.

One of the most surprising discoveries in the computer maps is that the independent registration trend is alive and well among the newly participating Latino voters. In fact, Latinos outpaced other groups with more than 30 percent of their new voters registering outside of the two major parties between 1992 and 2000.

"One thing it says to me is that Democrats ha
wave of independent voters. The
these independent voters are flexible enou
— Mark Baldassare, Pu



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"For a new voter, the political parties have no resonance," explained Antonio Gonzalez, president of the William C. Velasquez Institute, a Latino think tank based in Los Angeles. "Mostly, it's a statement of mutual ignorance: 'I don't know the parties, and the parties don't know me.' It's certainly a statement that the political parties don't mean much to me."

Democrats did gain most of the

"en able to ride the
estion is whether
switch allegiance."
icy Institute of California

newly registered Latinos during the period and, clearly, even the independently registered Latino voters have sided strongly with Democratic candidates lately. But the independent trend among Latino voters is significant for two reasons.

First, it suggests there may be a swing vote in the Latino electorate, which would contrast with a popular notion that Latinos were driven to the Democratic Party because of Republican support for Proposition 187, the successful 1994 ballot measure that sought to end public benefits for illegal immigrants. Experts said the high rate of independent registration among Latinos could be a sign that Proposition 187 was a catalyst for political participation, but not necessarily with the Democratic Party.

Second, the Latino independent trend may pose an opportunity for Republicans, who could be much more competitive statewide if the Democratic share of the Latino vote simply returned to the levels of the early 1990s. Political scientists have been wondering lately whether there is a more "normal equilibrium" for the Latino vote in California or whether Democrats can continue to count on 70 percent returns or more from the growing Latino electorate.

"Time will tell, but I'm inclined to think Republicans can mend their image with Latinos," said Bruce Cain, director of the Institute for Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley. "But you definitely have a nativist element that could restrain the Republican Party. So it's still an open question."

The assessment is difficult because the new Latino electorate is demographically different than the one prior to 1994. In general, the newer voters are more likely to be first-generation immigrants, younger and poorer. But Gonzalez said lessons can be learned from Houston, where Latino conditions are similar to Los Angeles and where a majority of the community recently backed a Republican Latino candidate for mayor.

"What it means is that there is fluidity among the Latino electorate," he said. "There is a very working class, immigrant trend in the Latino electorate. But it is also candidate sensitive and issue sensitive. I think the lesson of this is that the trends have not solidified, they have not congealed."

## The Democrats' advantage

The two strongest examples of the changing makeup of the Democratic vote in California come from the Bay Area and Los Angeles — for strikingly different reasons.

In Los Angeles, the major growth in the Latino population has made it the only major metropolitan area in the state where Democratic registration actually climbed between 1992 and 2000. In fact, Los Angeles is pulling away from other party strongholds, like San Francisco, and changing the makeup of the Democratic Party as a result. A recent Field Poll study found virtually all of the Democratic Party's registration advantage is now due to non-white voters.

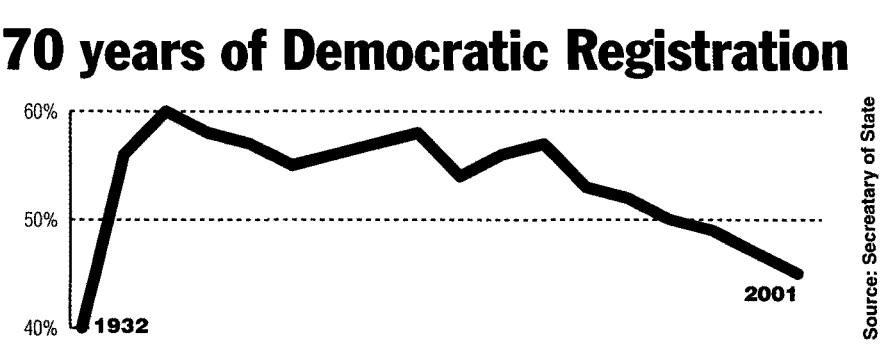
In the Bay Area, Democratic registration dropped, but the party sharply increased the vote for its candidates, thanks to support from a rapidly growing independent category. In fact, five of the top 10 counties for decline-to-state registration surround the Bay Area with San Francisco topping the list at 24 percent.

Take a look at the computer's Bay Area maps, and the beautiful range of colors will illustrate the upheaval that is underway in the electorate there. Virtually the entire shoreline of San Francisco Bay — from Marin County, down the East Bay, around San Jose and up to the city — is colored in green, blue and gray shades, indicating a drop in Democratic registration between 1992 and 2000. Then ask the computer to illustrate how the area voted in the presidential race in those two years, and the same areas shift to yellow and red, indicating strong Democratic gains at the ballot box.

Looking at the results, Jarvis does a double take. He's asked to recheck the data, but he gets the same answer. Put in another way, the Bay Area gave nearly 200,000 more votes to Al Gore than it did to Bill Clinton even though there were nearly 170,000 fewer registered Democrats in the 2000 election compared to1992.

Jarvis made several other snapshots of the same areas — checking 1994 against 1998, for example, or state Assembly races and gubernatorial contests. The angle of the trend lines changed, but the conclusion that Democrats are gaining votes while they're losing members was consistent.

The smoking gun for the Bay Area is around San Jose. And it points to the new independent voters as well as Latinos as the primary source of change. In the computer maps, the

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"...the trends have not solidified, they have not congealed."

— Antonio Gonzalez, William C. Velasquez Institute

San Jose area is simultaneously in the categories for highest loss in Democratic registration and the highest gain in Democratic votes between 1992 and 2000. At the same time, it scores in the highest category for gain among independent voters.

This is an area that was once dominated by Republicans. It changed during the 1980s, but moderate Republicans like former state Senator and Congressman Tom Campbell and former Assemblyman Jim Cunneen still held seats here until the late 1990s. When Democrat Mike Honda defeated Cunneen to fill Campbell's vacant House seat in 2000, the Democratic takeover of the area was complete.

Still, Terry Christiansen, chairman of the political science department at San Jose State University, said the right Republican could be competitive in the area. "I think voters here are comfortable splitting a ticket," he said. "Partisanship is not crucial for a lot of the electorate here. The county narrowly voted for Pete Wilson [as governor] in 1994, but it normally votes Democratic."

Zooming into one of the census tract groups southeast of downtown San Jose reveals a densely populated, working class community that grew to 42 percent Latino by 2000. And while Latino registration there climbed from 28 percent to 31 percent during the decade, Democratic registration dropped 8 percent and independent registration doubled. Meanwhile, at the ballot box, Gore got 66 percent of the vote there in 2000 compared with 54 percent for Clinton in 1992.

Now zoom out. The same trends are at play in the state as a whole. Democrats lost about 400,000 registered voters between 1992 and 2000 but Gore — even in a losing campaign nationally and with Green Party candidate Ralph Nader on the ballot — scored 1.3 million more votes in California than Clinton did during his 1992 victory.

The biggest impression from zooming out on the California map is that Republicans have gained virtually everywhere in the state except the urban areas and a few coastal patches. In fact — again contrasting with their performance at the polls — Republicans now claim a majority of the voters in 35 of the state's 58 counties, up from just eight GOP counties in 1986. The Republican gain represents more real estate than actual voters, since Los Angeles and San Francsico alone account for almost half of the state's electorate.

And San Diego, the state's third major metropolitan area, is experiencing the same Democratic shifts from Latino and independent voting. The best illustration there is freshman Democratic U.S. Representative Susan Davis, who represents a seat that borders Mexico. With strong independent support, Davis defied conventional wisdom in 2000 by unseating a Republican from a district where the parties were nearly equal in registration. The computer maps of her district confirm the reasons — they show a strong gain in independent registration during the decade, particularly among Latinos.

## The pendulum

So what about that pendulum question? Are Democrats here to stay? There are limits to what a computer analysis can do to predict our future. But consider what it does tell us:

- Democrats are at an historic high in representation at the same time as an historic low in registration.
- They did it with an unusually large share of a growing Latino electorate combined with the strong support of independent voters.
- There are no systemic reasons identified in the analysis that would keep California as disproportionately Democratic as it is today.

"One thing it says to me is that Democrats have been able to ride the wave of independent voters," said Mark Baldassare, director of the Public Policy Institute of California's Statewide Survey. "The big question is whether these independent voters are flexible enough to switch allegiance."

Long before the Latino surge in participation, California was more moderate or liberal than the nation on some key issues like the environment, pro-choice on abortion and gun control. One illustration is that it has been 15 years since the state elected a pro-life candidate to the governor's office or U.S. Senate.

But let's assume, for a moment, that the key swing voters are more issue-sensitive than they are party-loyal. That would suggest the cause for recent Democratic victories is due to political tactics — not just demographics. And that is something many Republicans appear ready to test this year. They've made Richard Riordan the favorite for the GOP gubernatorial nomination because they believe his centrist politics represent the party's best shot at testing the state's new electorate. Polls already show Riordan winning the independent vote and reaching new levels with Latinos for a Republican.

If he's nominated, all eyes will be on the pendulum.

"I do believe, at some point, those [Democratic] numbers could change, no question," stated Antonio Villaraigosa, former Democratic speaker of the state Assembly and a leading candidate in last year's election for mayor of Los Angeles. "But something affirmatively will have to be done by Republicans to do that. It won't be just simply speaking Spanish and playing mariachi music."

*Research for this story was funded by the Public Policy Institute of California, where the author, David Lesher, served as a Visiting Journalist in 2001. The project was conducted by UC Berkeley's Institute for Governmental Studies with direction from Lesher and PPIC. Lesher is editor of* California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**



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**Teenagers. Sexuality. Healthy teen sexuality.** These words might make you uncomfortable. You're not alone But the reality is, many teens are sexually active. And it's up to the adults in their lives to help them understand their sexuality so they can grow up to be sexually healthy adults. **Get Real.** Sexually active teenagers need information about and access to contraception so they can prevent an unplanned pregnancy or sexually transmitted disease If teenagers choose to have sex, they should have the information and contraception they need to stay healthy.

# Sexuality

**What can you do?**

**Advocate** for medically factual sexuality education in your school. It should give information about healthy relationships, abstinence, reproductive health, sexually transmitted diseases and contraceptives. **Help** the teens in your family and community develop healthy values and attitudes about sex and learn how to prevent unplanned pregnancies and STD's. **Discuss** the potential consequences of an unplanned pregnancy or sexually transmitted disease, as well as the benefits of contraception and how to get it if they choose to be sexually active. **Support** the availability of information and contraception for sexually active teens.

GET REAL ABOUT TEEN PREGNANCY

**Teen pregnancy is also an adult problem. Let's solve it together.**

*To learn more, visit our website at: www.letsgetreal.org*

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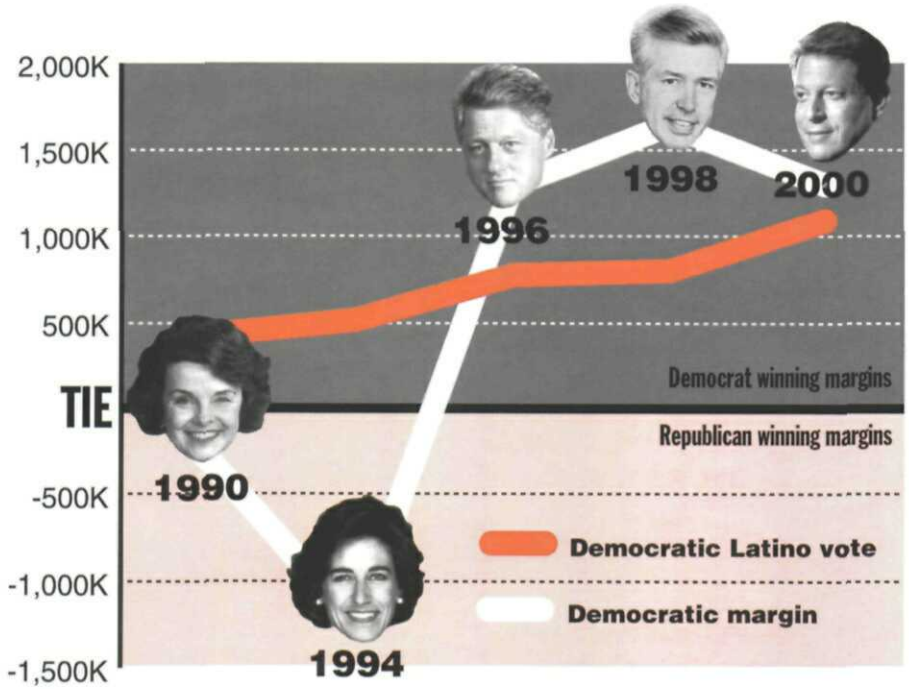
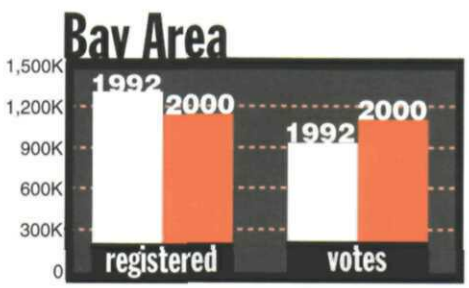


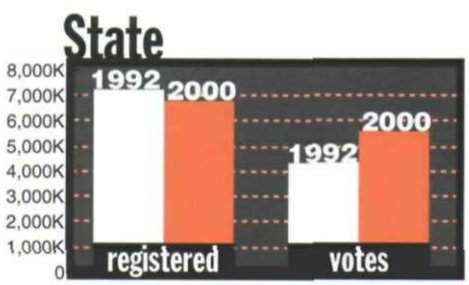

## The Sleeping Giant

This chart of exit poll results from the Los Angeles Times illustrates the benefit for Democrats from the growing Latino electorate. It compares the overall vote margin between the Democrat and Republican candidates in five critical races over the last decade with the vote that Democrats received from Latino voters. (Note: Democratic losses in '90 and '94 are expressed as negative numbers). The result shows how much of the Democratic victories are due to the growing Latino vote. During the decade, the Latino vote for Democrats more than doubled from about 400,000 in '90 to more than 1 million in '00. It accounted for about half of Davis' win in '98 and 84% of Gore's victory margin in '00.

# Democratic ups and

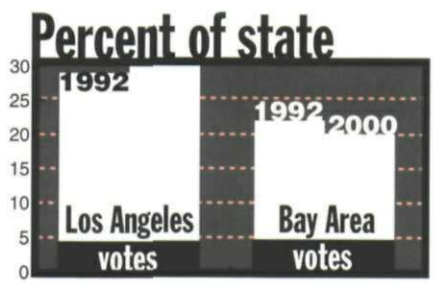
The California electorate is in the midst of profound change due to three major trends underway—growth in Latino participation, a decline in major party registration and growth among independent voters (defined here as those not registered Republican or Democrat). As these charts show, Democrat success lately comes from the growth in independent and Latino voters. The question is: Will it last?




## Contrasting trends

The Bay Area lost about 150,000 registered Democrats between '92 and '00 but Gore ('00) got about 170,000 more votes from the same area than Clinton ('92). The statewide trend was similar—Democrat registration down and the Gore vote up.



## Pulling away

Los Angeles is pulling away from the Democrats' Bay Area stronghold. It's share of the party's statewide registration grew to 32% between '92 and '00 and its share of the statewide vote grew to 30%. The Bay Area dropped in both categories.



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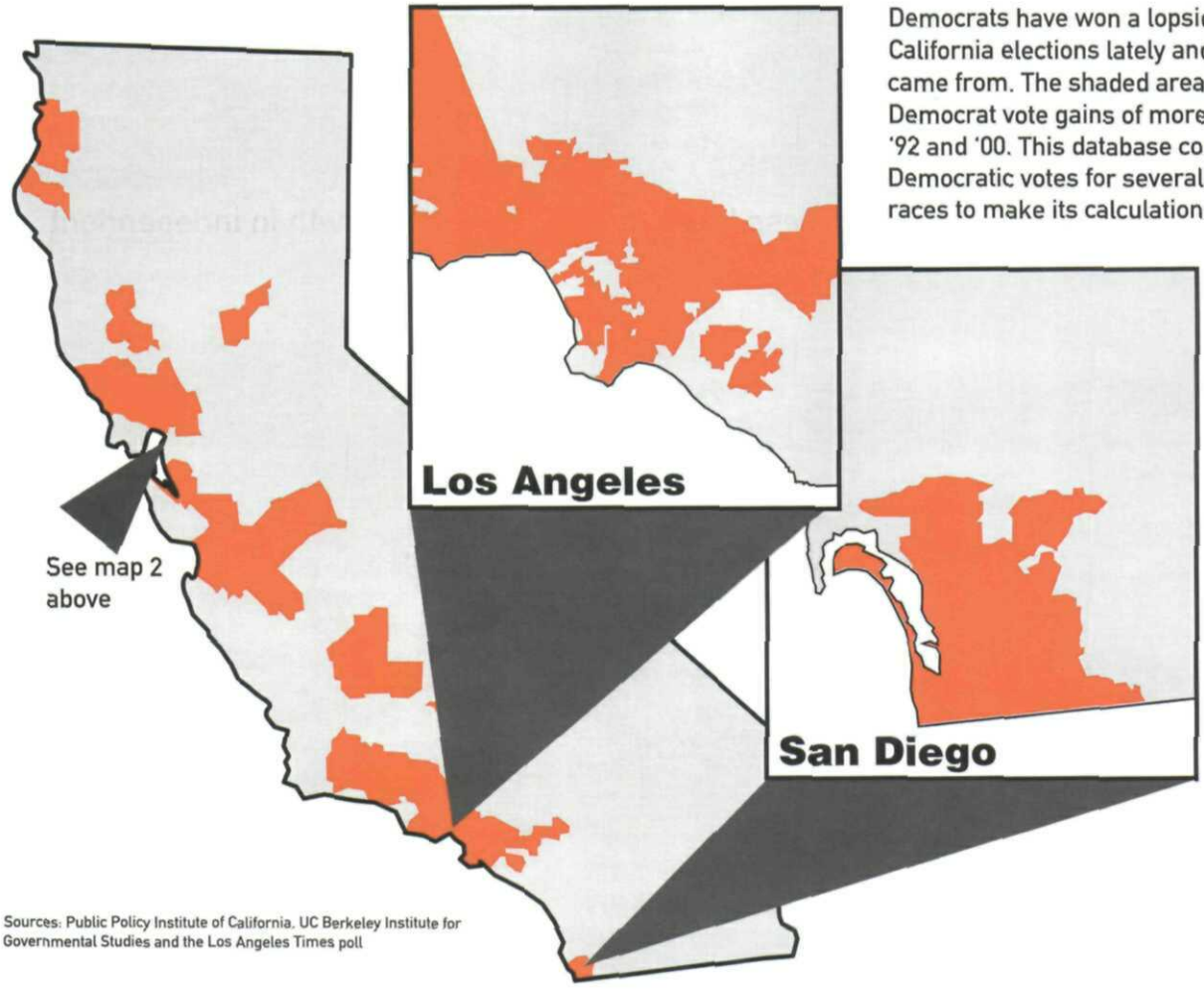
The Bay Area is the best example of trends coursing through California. The shaded area on the first map shows all of the areas where Democratic registration declined between '92 and '00. The second shows the areas where the party's vote increased by at least 500 in the same period. The third map shows the areas of greatest gain in independent registration. Significantly, Democrats gained the most votes around San Jose and Napa Valley, overlapping the areas of greatest independent growth.

# downs

## The Power Base

Democrats have won a lopsided share of California elections lately and here is where it came from. The shaded areas indicate Democrat vote gains of more than 500 between '92 and '00. This database combined the total Democratic votes for several local and statewide races to make its calculation.




Sources: Public Policy Institute of California, UC Berkeley Institute for Governmental Studies and the Los Angeles Times poll



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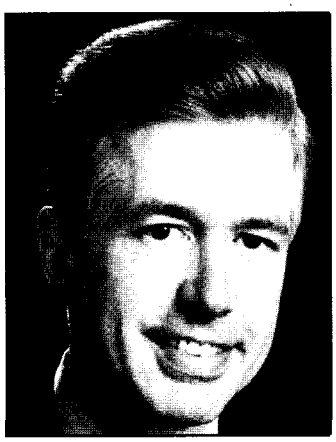
# Governor

The Republican Party seemed to approach this year's race for governor as if it were ready to try *anything*. That's because, lately, voters have acted as if the GOP was trying to sell swampland. The last Republican candidate for governor lost in a landslide. And in 2000, George Bush outspent Al Gore $12 million to zero and was soundly defeated in the state's presidential vote.

Meanwhile, Governor Gray Davis was well on the way toward his goal of a $50 million re-election war chest.

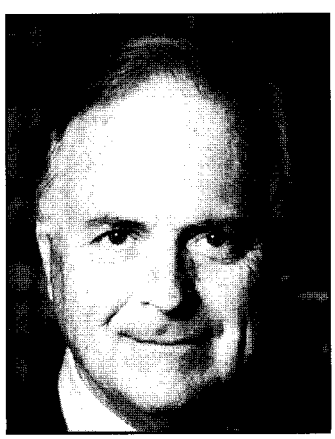
But *somebody* had to run. And Davis was potentially vulnerable because of the state's bungled deregulation of the electric industry.

So the casting about for candidates began, surprisingly with the White House taking the lead. President Bush urged actor Arnold Schwarzenegger to consider the race. The Hollywood star said he was thinking about it even though it would cost him a lot of money in missed movie roles. After sending some mixed signals, he finally withdrew from consideration. Meanwhile, Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan was also encouraging a millionaire investment banker to enter the race — Bill Simon. And he did. But then Bush called Riordan and suggested that the mayor should run. Which *he* did.



Davis

When Riordan got into the race, many Republican leaders wanted to end the contest right there. He was rich enough to pay his own way, if he needed to. He was already fairly well known. And he would represent a new direction for the Republican Party, running from the center instead of the right. Riordan is pro-choice on abortion, favors gun control measures and supports domestic benefits for gays. Republican officials thought he might win back some of the swing voters who were turned off by the GOP's controversial handling of issues like Monica Lewinsky and illegal immigration.



Riordan

But while all of this candidate recruiting and toe-dipping was under way, the highest ranking Republican in California was already in the race. Bill Jones had an admirable record as a Central Valley assemblyman. And he was the incumbent secretary of state, who earned bipartisan praise for his handling of election reform and other issues. But even without another candidate in the race, the California Republican Party never embraced Jones.

Publicly, the most common explanation is that Jones is just not an inspiring character. But privately, most political watchers believe the GOP's silent treatment is payback for his decision to switch his support in the 2000 Republican presidential primary from George Bush to Arizona Senator John McCain.

When the candidate filing deadline finally arrived on November 7, there were three Republican hats in the ring — Riordan, Jones and Simon. Things were also starting to look better for the GOP's chances. Davis was sinking in the polls.

Davis' job approval rating was 60% in January 2001, about the high mark for his first term. He had just completed his second year in office and the economy was still soaring beyond expectation, producing multibillion-dollar surpluses. But clouds were clearly forming on the horizon. That previous summer, San Diego electric prices skyrocketed almost overnight when the area's utility became the first released from a state price cap, directly exposing consumers to a wildly soaring energy market.

Davis' 2001 State of the State address was a fist-pounding declaration of his plan to avoid an electricity crisis. But many of the governor's predictions failed. Consumer prices went up, the state acquired billions of dollars in debt and a major utility went bankrupt. By May, 55% of registered voters disapproved of Davis' job, according to the Field Poll. And by the end of the summer, even after the state narrowly averted the worst-case predictions for widespread blackouts, Davis had slipped 3 points behind Riordan in the polls. As the election year began with the nation officially suffering a recession and the state forecasting a multibillion-dollar deficit, Davis found himself 7 points behind the former Los Angeles mayor.

Meanwhile, Riordan was proving to be a teflon candidate. He had a few bumps when several campaign staff



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members quit and he turned for help to a group of Democratic consultants — Susan Estrich, Pat Caddell and Clint Reilly. And Jones was letting him have it with both barrels, warning the Republican Party that it was siding with the enemy by choosing Riordan because he had given more than $1 million to Democratic candidates in the last two decades, including $78,500 from the mayor and his wife to Davis. The most stinging attack came in a newspaper ad Jones bought during the state Republican convention in October that blasted the former mayor for the Los Angeles police scandal, for opposing Props. 187 and 209 regarding illegal immigration and affirmative action, for breaking a promise to hire 3,000 cops and for overcharging the state for electricity during the crisis. "Have we gone nuts?" the ad asked Republicans.

Jones

Simon

Simon took a few mild jabs at his Republican rivals when he announced his campaign November 2. He called Jones an insider and said Riordan didn't have the fire in his belly he needed to win. But Simon, running for his first public office, was struggling to be treated like a viable contender. He knew politics and Wall Street as the son of former President Richard Nixon's treasury secretary, William E. Simon Sr. He also served briefly in New York City as a federal prosecutor before moving to California in 1990 to work in the family investment firm. He entered the governor's campaign as a classic supply-side conservative, favoring smaller government and family values. But after months of campaigning, a December poll found that 81% of the voters still could not identify him.

None of the attacks seemed to stick to Riordan. In fact, he was doing well by ignoring the primary. He didn't even mention that he was a Republican when he ran his first television commercial in January or when he announced his campaign for governor from historic Olvera Street in Los Angeles. Instead, he went straight after Davis, blasting the governor for years of "gross mismanagement" that turned a surplus budget into a deficit and led the state into the electricity crisis. He even went out of his way to confirm some of the liberal politics Jones was criticizing. He attended a prominent fund-raiser for abortion rights advocates and he spoke to an organization for gays and lesbians. "What I'm hoping to do is create a Republican Party that is inclusive — inclusive in our leadership of people like gays, lesbians and women," he said.

At another time, California conservatives would have swarmed a Republican candidate for such talk. But desperate for a win, the GOP has clearly put out the word that it wants unity behind the former mayor, leaving Jones starved for cash. He raised just $431,000 in the last quarter of 2001, leaving him barely $1 million for the final stretch of the campaign. Simon wasn't getting anywhere either. He pulled in $278,000 and then wrote his campaign a check for $1.7 million from his personal accounts. And even though Riordan has plenty of personal wealth himself, he still managed to raise $4 million during the final quarter of 2001. Davis, however, topped them all. He raised $6 million during the same period and opened 2002 with a record $35.4 million campaign account.

So the 2002 race for governor is off to an unusual and quiet start. The early primary season was overshadowed by the terrorist attacks on September 11. And with the Republican leadership uniting behind Riordan, the press has either ignored the race or focused as much attention on the potential general election with Davis as it has on the two other Republicans.

The candidates made mild attempts to start a discussion about policy issues. Jones rolled out a terrorism plan that called for an upgraded National Guard and a rapid response medical team. Simon suggested the state create a 6% reserve budget to smooth out economic gyrations and Riordan called for a zero-based budgeting process. But the economic proposals were especially vague, and lack of attention on the race left little incentive for the candidates to provide greater detail.

The result is that most reporters, strategists and political watchers are already looking past the 2002 primary for governor. Even Jones and Simon stopped their attacks on Riordan in January and starting aiming their fire at Davis. And the way things are going for Davis lately, his November re-election bid is certain to be one of the most closely watched contests in America.

*— David Lesher*

### Candidates for Governor

**Democrats:** Mosemarie Boyd (Sacramento), Anselmo A. Chavez (Marysville), Gray Davis* (Los Angeles), Charles Pineda, Jr. (Sacramento)

**Republicans:** Danney Ball (Hemet), Edie Bukewihge (Newport Beach), Jim Dimov (Los Angeles), Nick Jesson (Huntington Beach), Bill Jones (Fresno), Richard J. Riordan (Los Angeles), Bill Simon (Los Angeles)

**Other:** American Independent: Reinhold Gulke (Clovis); Green: Peter Miguel Camejo (Oakland); Libertarian: Gary David Copeland (Trabuco Canyon); Natural Law: Iris Adam (Irvine)

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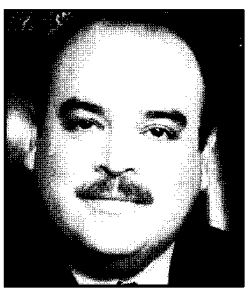
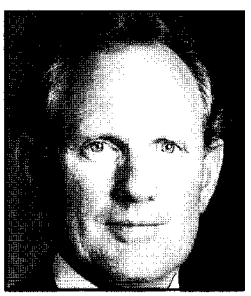
# Lieutenant Governor

**Democrats:** Cruz Bustamante* (Elk Grove)
**Republicans:** Bruce McPherson (Santa Cruz), Ellie Michaels (Thousand Oaks)
**Other:** American Independent: Jim King (Riverside); Green: Donna Warren (Santa Monica); Libertarian: Pat Wright (San Diego); Natural Law: Kalee Przybylak (Studio City); Reform: Paul Jerry Hannosh (Tujunga)


Bustamante


McPherson

This March will be a quiet affair for first-term Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante, who's running unopposed for the Democratic nomination. In 1998, Bustamante became the first Latino elected statewide in 125 years, following his election as the first-ever Latino speaker of the state Assembly in 1996.

His first term in office has been relatively quiet, often the case for lieutenant governors who wield little power. He did generate a couple of headlines in 2001, one of which Bustamante would prefer to forget. While speaking to a black union group last February, Bustamante accidentally used a racial epithet — the so called "N" word. He later apologized. He also angered Gov. Gray Davis by challenging his plan to litigate Prop. 187, the 1994 ballot measure to end public benefits for illegal immigrants. On a more positive note, the former lawmaker garnered attention during the energy crisis when he sponsored legislation to prosecute corporations that manipulated the energy market.

The Republican primary features two contenders, though state Sen. Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz is expected to easily defeat singer/songwriter Ellie Michaels of Thousand Oaks for the GOP nomination. McPherson's toughest task will be recovering from the murder of his son, Hunter McPherson, 27, who was killed in December when he and his girlfriend were mugged in San Francisco.

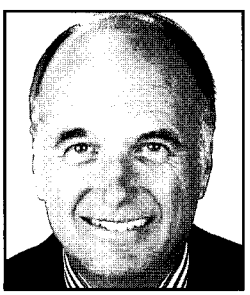
Politically, the two-term senator sports the kind of moderate profile that could make him attractive to voters across the state. He has a strong environmental record, which has allowed him to represent Democratic-oriented, eco-friendly Santa Cruz since 1993, first as an assemblyman, then as a senator. He's also pro-choice and has supported gun-control measures as a legislator, including last year's bill licensing gun owners.

*— Noel Brinkerhoff*

# Attorney General

**Democrats:** Bill Lockyer* (Hayward), Mike Schmier (Emeryville)
**Republican:** Dick Ackerman (Tustin)
**Other:** American Independent: Diane Beall Templin (Escondido); Green: Glen Freeman Mowrer (Santa Barbara); Libertarian: Ed Kuwatch (Willits)

Lockyer


Ackerman

With crime down, Atty. Gen. Bill Lockyer has focused his first term in office on matters close to his Democratic heart. Consumer protection, health and environmental battles have received more attention under Lockyer than under his predecessor, Republican Dan Lungren, who centered the California Dept. of Justice on more traditional law-and-order priorities. Recently, Lockyer set his sights on Microsoft, joining colleagues from eight other states in rejecting the U.S. Justice Dept.'s antitrust settlement with the giant software company.

Although Lockyer faces a challenger for the Democratic nomination, the veteran politician isn't likely to sweat the March primary. Bay Area attorney Mike Schmier has little money to promote his campaign to make California's judicial system more affordable and accessible for ordinary citizens. Schmier competed in the 1998 Democratic primary for attorney general and finished fourth, with 4% of the vote. He also was trounced by U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein in the 2000 Democratic primary.

On the Republican side, state Sen. Dick Ackerman filed at the last minute after most Republicans steered clear of the race. With Lockyer an odds-on-favorite for re-election, GOP leaders had a tough time locating someone willing to throw himself against the formidable Democratic incumbent. Ackerman, a business attorney first elected to the state Assembly in 1994, has spent most of his legislative tenure working behind the scenes rather than drawing attention to himself. The Orange County lawmaker risks little by taking on Lockyer. Having won election to the state Senate only two years ago, Ackerman's first term isn't up until 2004, so he has a free ride — and a job — even if he loses in November.

*— Noel Brinkerhoff*



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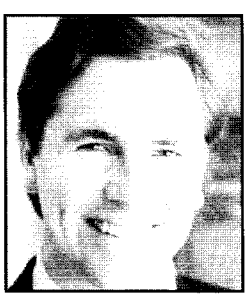
# Secretary of State

**Democrats:** Michela Alioto (San Francisco), March Fong Eu (Sacramento), Carl Henley (Long Beach), Shawn Casey O'Brien (Santa Monica), Kevin Shelley (San Francisco)
**Republicans:** Barbara Jean Marr (Los Angeles), Keith Olberg (Victorville), Mike Schaefer (North Hollywood)
**Other:** Green: Larry Shoup (Oakland); Libertarian: Gail K. Lightfoot (Pismo Beach); Natural Law: Louise Marie Allison (Claremont); Reform: Valli Sharpe-Geisler (San Jose)

Alioto

Eu


Shelley

Olberg

Chalk it up to hanging chads, but the closely contested presidential race of 2000 provided new grist for the campaign for secretary of state. The media spotlight on the idiosyncrasies of punch-card ballots and the nuances of election recounts has fostered what candidates hope will be heightened voter interest in the office currently held by Republican Bill Jones, who is termed out and running for governor.

The real primary battle will be between Democrats March Fong Eu, Assm. Kevin Shelley and Michela Alioto, who is making her second try for the office. In 1998, she had the luxury of running unopposed in the primary, but this time around she must do battle with Eu, who served previously for nearly two decades as secretary of state beginning in 1974, and Shelley, who as the Assembly's majority leader is in a strong position to pull in money and endorsements from Democratic heavyweights. Alioto, the 32-year-old granddaughter of the late San Francisco mayor Joe Alioto, has coveted political office since 1996 when she narrowly lost a congressional bid against incumbent Frank Riggs in what was regarded as one of the nastiest political races that year. She later came within 1 percentage point of knocking Jones from his post. A last minute $500,000 loan to herself to finance TV ads in Los Angeles and the Bay Area put her within striking distance of the incumbent, thought to have an easy shot at re-election.

An early poll commissioned by Alioto found she has residual name ID from her previous run at statewide office, but she's up against another name likely to resonate, at least with older voters. The 80-year-old March Fong Eu stepped out of retirement last year to stake her claim on her old office. In an effort to show voters her age wasn't a limitation, she stood on the steps of the Capitol with an axe in hand, smashing a punch-card voting machine, the kind she aims to outlaw if elected. It was reminiscent of her performance long ago when, as an assemblywoman, she took a sledge hammer to a commode to highlight her ultimately successful campaign to have public pay toilets banned.

But for her long and illustrious political career, Eu's fund raising to date has paled compared to that of Shelley, who may be lacking a statewide profile but whose bank account considerably outpaces that of his primary opponents. As of mid January, Shelley's war chest stood at $1.4 million, though considerably more may be needed to introduce himself for the first time to a statewide audience. It was once assumed that Shelley had his eyes on the San Mateo congressional seat held by U.S. Rep. Tom Lantos, but after the presidential recount debacle, Shelley, who had previously championed nursing home reform, took up the cause of revamping California's outdated voting technology and set himself on a path to become secretary of state. His polls show Eu's support flat, and he is counting on the fact that she has been out of office so long that many current California voters don't know or remember her.

On the Republican side, Keith Olberg, a three-term assemblyman termed out in 2000, faces off against Mike Schaefer, a public interest attorney from Southern California. Schaefer is conducting a grass-roots campaign with little money or support. Olberg, too, lacks a statewide profile. The problem he faces is shared by most Republican statewide candidates — the reluctance of big money to chase impossible dreams in a state that has shown a strong penchant for electing Democrats.

*— Kathleen Les*

# Treasurer

**Democrat:** Philip Angelides* (Sacramento)
**Republicans:** Greg Conlon (Atherton), Mary A. Toman (Los Angeles)
**Other:** American Independent: Nathan E. Johnson (San Diego); Green: Jeanne-Marie Rosenmeier (Walnut Creek); Libertarian: Marian Smithson (West Covina); Natural Law: Sylvia Valentine (Santa Cruz)

Given the behemoth size of his $4 million bank account, it's safe to say Democrat Phil Angelides is in a strong position, even before he knows which Republican will face

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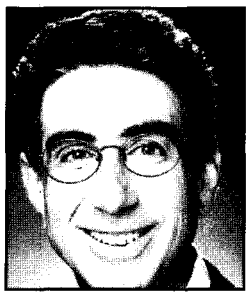
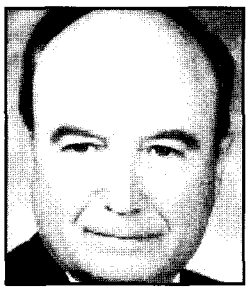
him in November. He won the office four years ago against Republican Curt Pringle, a former speaker of the Assembly. He also ran in 1994, but lost to Republican Matt Fong.

In his first term, Angelides kept a high profile by publicly denouncing urban sprawl, directing investment money into inner city areas, by shuttling to New York to help salvage the state's credit rating during the energy crises and more recently offering a refinance plan to keep California solvent in the face of the projected $12 billion deficit. Whether Angelides, a former Sacramento developer, will actually need the $4 million he's already banked for the race remains to be seen. Many speculate he has his sights set on becoming governor, and this could be seed money for a bigger splash.


Angelides


Conlon

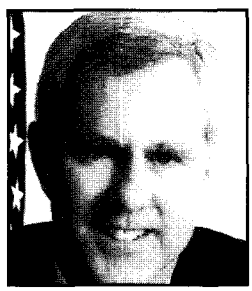
Toman

If fund raising on the part of his opponents is any indication, they have an uphill fight in more ways than one. Two Republicans are seeking the nomination, but neither has raised enough money so far to warrant compliance with electronic filing requirements. Greg Conlon is the former president of the Public Utilities Commission, who was appointed by Pete Wilson to preside over energy deregulation — not exactly a resume builder given the controversial role played by the PUC in the dereg debacle. As though the PUC wasn't enough of an image buster, Conlon worked as a senior partner with Arthur Andersen, the accounting firm implicated in the Enron bankruptcy. Smelling trouble down the road, Republicans quietly recruited Mary Toman, a former deputy treasurer under Matt Fong and a former senior executive in the U.S. Dept. of Commerce under former Pres. George Bush. Toman entered the race at the last minute but has managed to quickly corral the GOP political establishment behind her. Congressmen Chris Cox, Ed Royce and Steve Horn have all endorsed her, as have a handful of Republican Assembly members. Conlon also has several key Republican endorsements including Assem. Republican Leader Dave Cox and Assem. Bill Leonard

— *Kathleen Les*

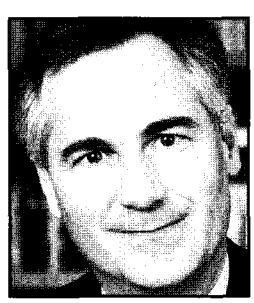
# Controller

**Democrats:** Johan Klehs (San Leandro), Steve Westly (Redwood City)
**Republicans:** Dean Andal (Stockton), Nancy Beecham (El Cajon), W. Snow Hume (Los Angeles), Tom McClintock (Thousand Oaks)
**Other:** American Independent: Ernest F. Vance (Sacramento); Green: David Delano Blanco (Grover Beach), Laura Wells (Oakland); Natural Law: J. Carlos Aguirre (Laguna Niguel)


Klehs

Westly

Andal


McClintock

Candidates for state controller are always eager to sell their fiscal-management skills to voters. Unfortunately, the job requires little such skill and commands little in the way of public attention. Although the stakes are small, the race for the open controller's seat being vacated by termed-out Democrat Kathleen Connell has tight match-ups on both sides.

Two fiscal conservatives — Sen. Tom McClintock and Board of Equalization member Dean Andal — are battling for the Republican nomination. McClintock has been around the state Capitol since 1982 when, at age 26, he was first elected to the Assembly. Regarded as more libertarian than conservative, he tried to unseat Connell four years ago but lost by a narrow 2-point margin. McClintock is primed and ready for another run at the office, having served more recently as a senator while furthering his reputation as an anti-tax advocate and crusader for smaller government — a message he hopes will sell with the state budget bleeding red ink.

This time, McClintock must first survive a primary against another seasoned conservative, Andal, who also served in the Assembly before being elected to the BOE six years ago. Both candidates are known for their nonstop workaholic style and both are politically well-connected. Andal, who abandoned a potential Senate race to seek the controllers's office, brings $750,000 raised for the Senate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run. He has added a $200,000 loan from a fellow Stocktonite — developer Alex Spanos. McClintock has also reported about $600,000 in loans and contributions.

While Andal boasts support from former Republican Govs. George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson, McClintock has GOP legislative leaders Assm. Dave Cox and Sen. Jim Brulte behind him. In addition to his previous run for the statewide office, McClintock enjoys a base in So. California. A poll taken last spring as McClintock was deciding to enter the race showed him with 42% name recognition statewide and a 5-to-1 lead against possible challengers in the vote-rich southland.

While the two Republican candidates appear to be evenly matched, the two strongest Democratic candidates are separated by one thing in particular — money. The candidate who has it is Steve Westly, who tried to jumpstart a career in politics some years ago by running for Democratic Party chairman against a then-unemployed Jerry Brown. Westly lost, but rather than sulk, he moved on to another career in the Silicon Valley, where he helped build eBay. That made him rich, and he now plans to use those riches to pursue public office. Westly already has sunk over $1.6 million of his own fortune into the campaign, though he is quick to point out he didn't part with his money until he had raised as much as his opponent, a sum just under half a million dollars.

The deer in Westly's headlights at the moment is Board of Equalization member Johan Klehs, a former assemblyman who, like Republican Andal, is trying to parlay a seat on the board into statewide office. The bad news for both Andal and Klehs is that no one has yet made that leap. Lack of funds is a critical drawback in a statewide endeavor, no matter how many endorsements one gets from old pals in the Legislature or from labor groups. Unless those same groups are willing to spend manpower and money on your behalf, they might as well save the paper and ink it took to write the endorsement. Klehs has the endorsements, but at this moment, they have all the impact of dream dust.

At least Klehs could have some empathy from another California politico who found himself in much the same situation more than a quarter century ago. Like Klehs, this youngster decided to run for statewide office by choosing a political backwater — in his case, treasurer. He figured he would have the primary to himself, nab the Democratic nomination and see what developed in the fall, where anything can happen. Unfortunately, at the last minute, a very big heavyweight dropped in to the primary and eventually coasted to victory. The big heavyweight was Jesse Unruh. The disappointed youngster was Gray Davis. Westly isn't Unruh when it comes to Democratic name ID, but he has more than enough money to buy that ID come March 5, and not enough Democratic loyalists likely know Klehs well enough to come to his rescue.

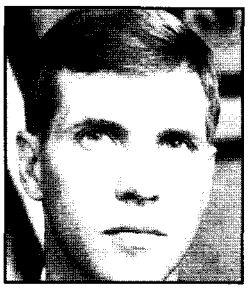
— *Kathleen Les*

# Insurance Commissioner

**Democrats:** Thomas Calderon (Montebello), John Garamendi (Walnut Grove), Tom Umberg (Santa Ana), Bill Winslow (Los Angeles)
**Republicans:** Wes Bannister (Huntington Beach), Gary Mendoza (Los Angeles), Stefan Stitch (Los Angeles)
**Other:** American Independent: Steve Klein (El Cajon); Green: David Sheidlower (Oakland); Libertarian: Dale Ogden (San Pedro); Natural Law: Raul Calderon, Jr. (Stanford)

Calderon

Garamendi


Umberg

Is this 2002, or 1990? It almost seems someone activated the Wayback Machine on the insurance commissioners race, given the familiar circumstances and candidates from 12 years ago. In that first race, after voters created the position with Prop. 103, Democrats were expected to triumph (and did) because Republicans didn't enjoy a strong consumer-advocate reputation among voters. Today, many observers believe Democrats again enjoy an advantage in the wake of GOP Insurance Comm. Chuck Quackenbush's resignation following a scandal two years ago.

In addition to the Democratic-friendly atmospherics, the current race features the two candidates who squared off against one another in the 1990 campaign: Democrat John Garamendi and Republican Wes Bannister. Garamendi went on to win that election, then unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination for governor in 1994. After that, he joined the Clinton administration as deputy director for the U.S. Dept. of the Interior.

Garamendi still enjoys respectable name ID, according to a Field Poll last summer, and he raised $1 million as of January while refusing contributions from the insurance industry. He faces plenty of competition for the Democratic nod. Tom Umberg, a former assemblyman from Orange County who lost the 1994 attorney general's race to Republican Dan Lungren, reported $1.6 million in the bank as of October. Like Garamendi, Umberg has sworn not to accept contributions from insurance sources.

The third Democrat in the field is accepting insurance contributions. Lots of them. Assm. Tom Calderon, who

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chairs the Assembly Insurance Committee, received $800,000 from the industry, according to the Associated Press. In light of the Quackenbush scandal, some have questioned Calderon's decision to accept insurance money. But the Montebello Democrat insists he will champion consumers and bring stability back to the troubled office. The Democrats' fourth candidate, insurance consultant and attorney Bill Winslow, isn't expected to figure prominently in the race.

On the GOP side, it's been said leaders failed to recruit a strong candidate because of the stigma Quackenbush left behind for Republican candidates. For Bannister, this is his third run for the office. Bannister has plenty of knowledge about insurance, having worked as an agent and broker for 40 years. But he's always had trouble raising sufficient funds for commissioner races.

Money also has been in short supply for the two remaining Republican candidates, Gary Mendoza and Stefan Stitch. Mendoza enjoys strong party connections, which may enable him to compete with Bannister. After serving in the Wilson administration as commissioner of the Dept. of Corporations, Mendoza served as Los Angeles deputy mayor for economic development under Richard Riordan. He also was one of the co-chairs for the Bush campaign in California and currently works as an attorney in Riordan's law firm. After being encouraged by Riordan to seek the commissioners office, Mendoza expects to receive assistance from the Republican gubernatorial candidate during the primary race.

*— Noel Brinkerhoff*

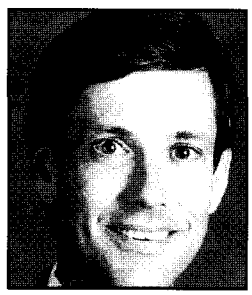
# Superintendent of Public Instruction

**Nonpartisan candidates:** Lynne C. Leach (Walnut Creek), Jack O'Connell (San Luis Obispo), Katherine H. Smith (Anaheim), Joe Taylor (Los Angeles)

After being overshadowed by the electricity crisis and the terrorist attacks, recent polls show education back as the top concern of voters going into the 2002 election. Outgoing schools chief Delaine Eastin spent most of her first term at war with Gov. Pete Wilson over school reform, then was slighted by Gov. Gray Davis after she failed to endorse him in the primary during her second term.

Though the office is ostensibly nonpartisan, it is typically a battleground for school vouchers and education ideology. This time around, the race features two legislators, Democratic state Sen. Jack O'Connell, a Capitol veteran of 20 years who authored the landmark class-size reduction bill, and Republican Assm. Lynne Leach, a three-term lawmaker who also has education committee credentials and has authored bills to bring parity to school funding and end social promotion. Also in the race is Katherine Smith, a member of the Anaheim Union High School District board, and Joe Taylor, a political consultant.

Leach



O'Connell

O'Connell has already put himself in the fund-raising lead by bankrolling $2 million. Though he is a prolific fund raiser, he is better known for his sidewalk office hours, where he shows up unannounced on street corners in his district to meet and greet constituents. He's been traveling the state, setting up shop on busy intersections, in front of stores and other high traffic pedestrian areas, hoping the campaign technique will catapult him to statewide office. He's also collected a truckload of endorsements that read like a who's who of Democratic politics. The California Teachers Assn. and California Federation of Teachers have already extended their backing, and he's expected to have most major education groups solidly in his camp. O'Connell has pledged to safeguard school funding even as state revenues plummet and has promised to champion continued school reform even through growing concerns over energy and terrorism threaten to seize the spotlight.

The race once again looks to turn into a joust over school vouchers, since the Leach campaign received a $50,000 check from Fieldstead and Co., owned by Howard Ahmanson, a conservative backer of school vouchers. Leach has been quick to point out that she opposed the previous school voucher initiative, Prop. 38, and does not align herself with other conservative education platforms, such as support for the teaching of creationism. She plans to position herself as an anti-establishment candidate out to change the status quo.

An early poll shows O'Connell with 34% statewide name ID and Leach with 24%, neither particularly impressive. Moreover, 70% of voters were undecided on the race. Because this is a nonpartisan race, any candidate who snares more than 50% of the primary vote automatically wins the office. Historically, however, winners end up fighting it out until the bitter end, spending bushels of money for a slim margin of victory.

*— Kathleen Les*



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ELECTION 2002

# California Journal's district-by-district analysis

In the cover story for the January *California Journal*, Carl Cannon provided an inside view of how California's new political map was conceived. As we noted at the time, the 2001 redistricting plan was designed to preserve the political status quo in the Legislature and congressional delegation. Democrats and Republicans carved out territories for themselves, and the result was a map filled with safe seats and a few odd districts where the two parties might compete (see *CJ*, January 2002).

The further consequence was to enhance the importance of the primary, especially in the Legislature where term limits forces many open seats each election. With most districts safely in the hands of one party or the other, membership of the 2003 Legislature and congressional delegation will largely be determined in the primary. In most cases, the November election will be an afterthought.

The 2002 election is the first to be held in the new districts, and, as expected, most of the action takes place in the Assembly. In fact, only five congressional and three Senate seats offer what could be regarded as intriguing or hot contests. The fall election promises even fewer flash points. The Assembly, on the other hand, has generated only 25 interesting races. That's a total of 33 meaningful primaries in 153 legislative and congressional districts. This result may not conform to lessons found in civics books, but it does reflect political reality for most California voters.

As a result, *California Journal* departs from its traditional method of presenting district-by-district analyses. In years past, we have written at least a line or two about every congressional, state Senate and Assembly district — no matter how safe the seat or dull the election. That effort required something clever about nothing; such as, say, Democratic Assemblyman Gil Cedillo's race this year in the 22nd Senate District, currently held by termed-out Democrat Richard Polanco. Nearly two-thirds of the registered voters in that district are Democrats and, although the seat is open, Cedillo is unopposed in both the primary and general election.

Thus, we could write one of our snappy, if occasionally misunderstood, blurbs. (For junkies addicted to this kind of political fix, we present what would have been our analysis of Cedillo's election: "Expect this race to be nasty and brutal from the opening bell. Cedillo has promised to savage Cedillo with mail revealing his opponent's every vulnerability, but Cedillo is braced for the onslaught and has ginned up his own list of foibles to unleash at Cedillo. Money and sweat will flow through this district like candied popcorn from March to November, but most experts believe Cedillo will prevail.")

Having said that about Cedillo, what would we say about Republican Bill Maze in the 34th Assembly District? Or Democrat Rebecca Cohn in the 24th Assembly District? Or Jackie Goldberg, Gloria Romero and Richard Alarcon in their uncontested re-elections? What can be said about Republican Pat Bates' re-election in a district where Republicans hold a 32-point registration edge? "Bates wins" isn't worth the ink.

Instead, we focused on those 33 districts where real fights are taking place. For the rest, we feature charts that provide relevant information about each district: voter-registration figures, candidates' names and party affiliation and — where pertinent — a word or two about what may be in store for the fall. The contested primaries are noted on the charts with references to the pages where detailed analyses may be found.

## Board of Equalization Districts

| BD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 50-27-17 | Carole Migden | Mark Bendick<br>Max Woods | Elizabeth Brierly (L) |
| 2 | 42-42-12 | Norman Angelo<br>Tom Santos | Bill Leonard<br>Ted Costa | |
| 3 | 35-45-14 | Christian-Heising | Emad Bakeer<br>Claude Parrish*<br>Steve Petruzzo | J.R. Graham (L) |
| 4 | 55-26-14 | John Chaing* | Glen Forsch | Kenneth Weissman (L) |

## KEY to charts

**CD** = congressional district
**SD** = state Senate district
**AD** = Assembly district
**D%** = percent of Democratic voter registration
**R%** = percent of Republican voter registration
**DS%** = percent registered decline to state
**Democrats** = Democratic primary candidates
**Republicans** = Republican primary candidates
**Other** = third party primary candidates
**AI** = American Independent Party
**G** = Green Party
**L** = Libertarian Party
**NL** = Natural Law
**RF** = Reform Party
* = incumbent

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## Congress, Districts 1-27

| CD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 47-31-15 | Mike Thompson* | Lawrence Wiesner | Kevin Bastian (L) | |
| 2 | 37-45-12 | Raymond Hennemann<br>Mike Johnson | Wally Herger*<br>Al Thompson<br>Bob Todd | Charles Martin (L)<br>Patrice Thiessen (NL) | |
| 3 | 39-44-13 | Howard Beeman | Doug Ose* | Douglas Tuma (L) | |
| 4 | 34-47-14 | Mark Norberg | John Doolittle*<br>Bill Kirby | Allen Roberts (L) | A GOP challenge for Doolittle |
| 5 | 55-26-14 | Bob Matsui* | Richard Frankhuizen | Timothy Roloff (L) | |
| **6** | **51-28-15** | **Lynn Woolsey* and the mayor of Santa Rosa** | | | **See page 26** |
| 7 | 58-24-12 | George Miller* | Charles Hargrave | Scott Wilson (L) | |
| 8 | 57-13-24 | Nancy Pelosi*<br>Paul McConnell | Michael German<br>John Jenkel | Jay Pond (G)<br>Ira Spivack (L) | |
| **9** | **64-12-17** | **Lee challenged for anti-war vote** | | | **See page 26** |
| 10 | 46-35-13 | Ellen Tauscher*<br>Kurt Rasmussen | | Sonia Harden (L) | |
| 11 | 39-46-10 | Robert Figueroa<br>Elaine Shaw | Richard Pombo*<br>Thomas Benigno | | |
| 12 | 52-24-19 | Tom Lantos* | Michael Moloney | Maad Abu-Ghazallah (L) | |
| 13 | 54-24-17 | Pete Stark* | Syed Mahmood | Don Grundmann (AI)<br>Mark Stroberg (L)<br>John Bambey (RF) | |
| 14 | 46-31-18 | Anna Eshoo* | Joseph Nixon | Andrew Carver (L) | |
| 15 | 45-32-19 | Michael Honda* | Linda Hermann | Jeff Landauer (L) | |
| 16 | 50-28-18 | Zoe Lofgren* | Douglas McNea | Dennis Umphress (L) | |
| 17 | 50-29-15 | Sam Farr*<br>Arthur Dunn | Clint Engler<br>Ignacio Velazquez | Ray Glock-Grueneich (G)<br>Jascha Lee (L) | |
| **18** | **52-35-9** | **The Condit seat** | | | **See page 26** |
| 19 | 40-46-11 | John Veen | George Radanovich* | Patrick McHargue (L) | |
| 20 | 53-33-10 | Calvin Dooley* | Ricky Martin<br>Andre Minuth | Varrin Swearingen (L) | A potential hot one this fall |
| **21** | **39-47-11** | **A new Central Valley seat** | | | **See page 27** |
| 22 | 32-52-11 | Jaime Corvera | Bill Thomas* | Frank Coates (L) | |
| 23 | 45-33-16 | Lois Capps* | Donald Regan<br>Elizabeth Rogers | James Hill (L) | GOP could challenge in November |
| 24 | 35-46-14 | Fern Rudin | Elton Gallegly* | Gary Harber (L) | |
| 25 | 36-45-14 | Robert Conaway | Jim Aldrich<br>Howard McKeon* | Frank Consolo Jr. (L) | |
| 26 | 35-46-14 | Marjorie Mikels | David Dreier* | Randall Weissbuch (L) | |
| 27 | 49-32-14 | Brad Sherman* | Robert Levy | | |



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## Congress, Districts 28-53

| CD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | 58-22-15 | Howard Berman* | David Hernandez Jr. | Kelley Ross (L) | |
| 29 | 47-34-16 | Adam Schiff* | Jim Scileppi | Ted Brown (L) | |
| 30 | 52-28-16 | Henry Waxman*<br>Kevin Feldman | Tony Goss | | |
| 31 | 63-27-15 | Xavier Becerra* | Dino Pantazis<br>Luis Vega | | |
| 32 | 55-26-15 | Hilda Solis* | Emma Fischbeck | Michael McGuire (L) | |
| 33 | 69-23-14 | Diane Watson* | Andrew Kim | Charles Tate (L) | |
| 34 | 62-21-13 | Lucille Roybal-Allard* | Wayne Miller | | |
| 35 | 69-27-11 | Maxine Waters* | Michael Cyrus<br>Ross Moen | Gordon Mego (AI) | |
| 36 | 46-33-16 | Jane Harman* | Gloria Davis<br>Stuart Johnson | Mark McSpadden (L) | |
| 37 | 63-27-12 | J. Millender-McDonald*<br>Peter Mathews | Oscar Velasco | Herb Peters (L) | |
| 38 | 61-22-13 | Grace Napolitano*<br>Gregory Salcido | Alex Burrola | Al Cuperus (L) | |
| **39** | **55-28-13** | **An open district after Republican Steve Horn's retirement** | | | **See page 28** |
| 40 | 34-48-13 | Christina Avalos | Ed Royce* | Charles McGlawn (L) | |
| 41 | 36-46-12 | Keith Johnson | Jerry Lewis* | Kevin Craig (L) | |
| 42 | 31-51-14 | Richard Waldron | Gary Miller* | Donald Yee (L) | |
| 43 | 55-30-11 | Joe Baca* | Wendy Neighbor | Ethel Mohler (L) | |
| 44 | 34-49-12 | Louis Vandenberg | Ken Calvert*<br>Martin Collen<br>Khalid Jafri | Phillip Courtney (G) | Never a free ride for Ken Calvert |
| 45 | 38-46-11 | Elle Kurpiewski | Mary Bono* | Rodney Miller-Boyer (L) | |
| 46 | 33-48-14 | Gerrie Schipske | Dana Rohrabacher* | Keith Gann (L) | |
| 47 | 48-34-13 | Loretta Sanchez* | Jeff Chavez<br>Kenneth Fisher | Paul Marsden (L) | |
| 48 | 28-53-15 | John Graham | Christopher Cox*<br>David Cobert<br>Dave Forman | Joe Cobb (L) | |
| 49 | 31-49-15 | | Darrell Issa* | Karl Dietrich (L) | |
| 50 | 31-46-17 | Del Stewart | Randy Cunningham*<br>James Hart | Richard Fontanesi (L) | |
| 51 | 49-30-15 | Bob Filner*<br>Daniel Ramirez | Maria Garcia<br>Guillermo Durazo | Jeffrey Kemp (L) | Disputed in court by Latino activist |
| 52 | 32-46-16 | Peter Moore-Kochlacs | Duncan Hunter* | Michael Benoit (L) | |
| 53 | 42-32-18 | Susan Davis* | Bill VanDeWeghe<br>Tim Kane | | Fire in November? |

*Source: Secretary of State*

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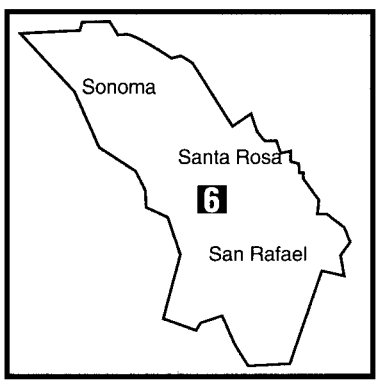
# Congress

## DISTRICT 6 (51% D - 28% R - 15% DS)

**Democrats:** Mike Martini (Santa Rosa), Lynn Woolsey* (Petaluma)
**Republican:** Paul Erickson (Santa Rosa)
**Libertarian:** Richard Barton (Petaluma)
**Reform:** Jeff Rainforth (Santa Rosa)

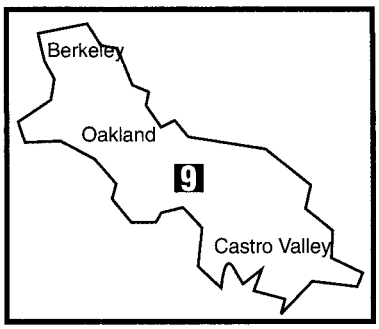
It is never easy to mount a primary challenge against a member of Congress, and Democrat Mike Martini faces an uphill battle to unseat five-term incumbent Lynn Woolsey. Martini, however, does not come to the table empty handed. He has strong name ID in Santa Rosa, where he has been an elected official since 1996 and currently serves as mayor. About 30% of the district population lives in Santa Rosa, but it accounts for only 20% of Democratic voters. Although Woolsey's home base in Petaluma is much smaller, she has represented the area in Congress for a decade and holds a sizeable advantage in district-wide name ID and money. Before that, she was a Marin Co. supervisor. That will force Martini to spend a bundle just to raise his profile outside Santa Rosa. His campaign promises to hit at Woolsey's record, painting her as too liberal and not attentive enough to district needs. But the "L" word isn't exactly a negative in a district that includes Marin.




## DISTRICT 9 (64% D - 12% R - 16% DS)

**Democrats:** Kevin Greene (San Leandro), Barbara Lee* (Oakland)
**Republicans:** Hector Reyna (Oakland), Jerald Udinsky (Berkeley)
**Libertarian:** James Eyer (Oakland)

This primary is more a curiosity than a serious challenge, but it will help answer the question whether a vote of conscience is fatal in a left-leaning, overwhelmingly Democratic district. Two-term incumbent Barbara Lee — the only member of Congress to vote against the post-Sept. 11 war on terrorism — is confident that her stand is not fatal; Kevin Greene hopes it is. Meanwhile, how the contest materialized at all resembles a burlesque. Greene, a civil engineer who serves on the Alameda Co. Democratic Central Committee, was not the first to take on Lee. That honor fell to Audie Bock, who stunned the political world in 1998 by becoming the first Green Party candidate to earn a seat in the California Legislature. She accomplished this feat when she knocked off the former mayor of Oakland in a special election. Soon thereafter, Bock had a political epiphany and abandoned the Greens for independent status to bolster her re-election chances. She lost anyway in Nov. 2000.

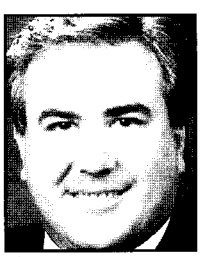



Bock had another epiphany last Oct. when she surfaced as a Democrat, disputing Lee's patriotism and launching her campaign with the slogan, "It's OK to love America." Her candidacy lasted two months, after which she threw her support to Greene, who took up the same mantra. Unfortunately for Greene, nearly 80% of the district comes from Lee's home base in Oakland and from Berkeley, where liberalism and conscience are not viewed as baggage. So, the hill that he must climb is perpendicular to the ground.

## DISTRICT 18 (52% D - 35% R - 9% DS)

**Democrats:** Dennis Cardoza (Atwater), Gary Condit* (Ceres), Joseph Martin (San Jose), Elvis Pringle (Los Angeles), Sukhmander Singh (Santa Clara), Ralph White (Stockton)
**Republicans:** Boll Conrad (Modesto), George House (Hughson), Dick Monteith (Modesto), Park Yonker (Mariposa)
**American Independent:** Kevin Cripe (Modesto)
**Libertarian:** Linda de Groat (Modesto)

It is rare that a seven-term incumbent would draw multiple opponents to his own party's primary — especially an incumbent who has high name ID even in remote parts of Alaska and who historically enjoyed such widespread popularity that he ran unopposed in 1998 and won two-thirds of the vote in 2000. Then again, this particular incumbent is Democrat Gary Condit, who is carrying more baggage these days than an over-booked cruise ship. Once the lion of Central Valley politics, Condit became a pariah last year thanks to a headline-blazing scandal that grew out of his involvement with a missing intern. Democrats — both in California and nationally — dearly hoped the politically wounded incumbent would fade into the wallpaper because they feared he would lose a vital seat to a Republican. As a result, they tried to


Cardoza

Condit



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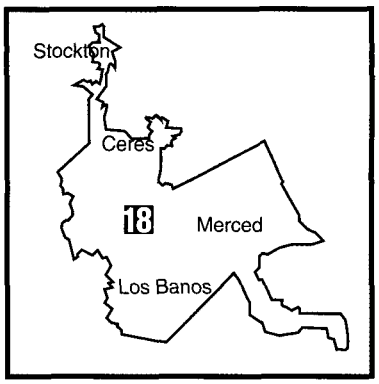
goose him into retirement by stretching his once-compact district, boosting Democratic registration while threading it north into territory where Condit the rogue is better known than Condit the public servant. In addition, an old Condit ally Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza, was lured away from a state Senate campaign to run here. But these sledgehammer cues were lost on Condit who, throughout a 30-year elective career, has danced to his own music. Despite advice to the contrary, he sought an eighth term, setting up a confrontation that promises to be the nation's most watched congressional primary. Although six Democrats grace the field, the contest is between Condit and Cardoza. Three of the Democrats don't even live in the district (Pringle, Martin and Singh), while Stockton City Councilman Ralph White hasn't the resources or district-wide name ID to mount an effective challenge in such a highly charged atmosphere. He could, however, prove a spoiler if he siphons votes away from Cardoza in Stockton — that portion of the district that is new to both front-runners. On the surface, it is difficult to see how Condit pulls the victory rabbit out of his battered Stetson. Most private polls, taken by a variety of overlapping campaigns, show him stuck below 30% of the vote, with Cardoza 40 points ahead in some cases. And Cardoza has the luxury of *not* having to make Condit's personal life an issue. The media will do that for him, topping every story about Condit or the election with references to Chandra Levy — the young intern with whom Condit was involved. The district's largest newspaper — *The Modesto Bee* — called for Condit's resignation last summer, before the scandal was knocked off front pages by the attacks of Sept. 11. Cardoza, meanwhile, has garnered widespread support from area elected officials and law-enforcement, and both public and private encouragement from Condit's colleagues in Washington. Rep. Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco, the newly installed House whip, underscored Condit's troubles in December when she withdrew a previous endorsement and urged the delegation to remain neutral — almost unprecedented in a race involving an incumbent. While Cardoza, chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, churns through fund raisers in Washington and Sacramento, Condit has had trouble raising money, with at least one donor publicly asking for her money back. Ignoring Condit, Cardoza needs only to raise his profile and create a positive image among the 30% of voters who live outside his current Assembly district. Although most analysts are hard pressed to create a scenario where Condit wins, there are potential flies in the Cardoza punch bowl. Condit is a superb and tireless campaigner who is willing to wade through feed lots and orchards to meet voters. He also is willing to sling some of that feedlot detritus at his opponent. Scandal aside, he has a solid and longstanding record of service to his district, especially to its large and influential agricultural community. If voters decide to forgive and forget and judge the two candidates on their records, Condit will outshine his opponent. Cardoza also has missed a number of candidate forums, where Condit — warts and all — has shown up to face constituents. All this will be watched closely by congressional Democrats who can ill-afford to lose a single seat if they hope to recapture control of the House. It also will be watched closely by Republicans, whose main horse is termed-out state Sen. Richard Monteith.




Former Assm. George House and Modesto Councilman Bill Conrad are Monteith's main rivals in the GOP primary, but they will be hard pressed to overtake him. More than 80% of Monteith's Senate district overlaps the congressional enclave, giving him strong name ID throughout the area. House has been out of office for two years and inactive politically. He also was not a strong campaigner and fund raiser as a state legislator and had not shown much of an effort as of mid January. Conrad ran against Condit two years ago and polled barely a third of the vote in the previous district, which was more centered on his Modesto base than the current version. With Republican registration nearing 40% after a strong fall registration drive, both sides are gearing up for a multimillion-dollar general election. In other words, district voters can look forward to an entire year of electoral fireworks.

## DISTRICT 21 (39% D - 47% R - 11% DS)

**Democrat:** David LaPere (Porterville)

**Republicans:** Mike Briggs (Clovis), Greg Ingles (Visalia), Richard Morgan (Fresno), Devin Nunes (Alpaugh), Jim Patterson (Reedley), Nathan Short and Tom Wright (both of Visalia)

**Libertarian:** Jonathan Richter (Fresno)

The 2001 status-quo reapportionment made this new Central Valley seat necessary after Democratic mapmakers collapsed a Republican seat in Long Beach. As expected, robust GOP registration attracted a regiment of candidates, but only three have the organization, money or experience to compete seriously: Mike Briggs, Devin Nunes and Jim Patterson. They are expected to take this battle to the very end, and although Briggs and Patterson are early front-runners, many area observers point to Nunes as a formidable dark horse who could blow past the other two come March. Briggs currently is completing his first term as an assemblyman representing about 70% of the new congressional district. A fiscal conservative, he has wide name ID and, according to his campaign, strong "favorables." He also has worked hard on behalf of district farmers — always a plus in rural enclaves of the Central Valley. He is relatively well funded, although his war chest likely will be pale compared with that of Nunes, and perhaps Patterson as well. A former Fresno councilman, Briggs shares his electoral base with Patterson, although

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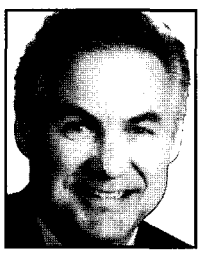
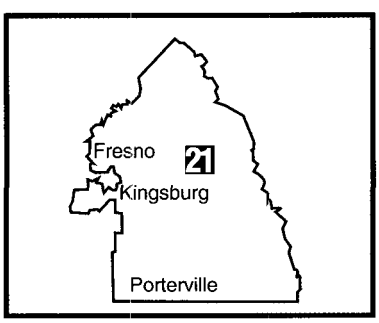
only a sliver of that city sits in the district. On the downside, Briggs has two pieces of baggage — each the size of a steamer trunk. He has repeatedly kicked aside one trunk in contested elections: a 1986 "no contest" plea to charges of having unlawful sex with a minor. But the other trunk is immoveable, especially when confronting conservative GOP voters: Briggs was one of only four Republican legislators who joined Democrats to pass the 2001-2002 state budget. Worse, he cast the deciding vote, angering conservatives all over the country. Even his allies concede that it will be difficult for Briggs to neutralize his vote as an issue, although he has garnered support in the agricultural community because of tax breaks contained in that budget. Poised to capitalize on Briggs' predicament is Jim Patterson, whose two terms as mayor of Fresno ended in January 2001. Patterson has strong name ID throughout Fresno Co., although there is no middle ground — people either love him or hate him. In addition, he does not have much money, and his hopes may hinge on conservative efforts to punish Briggs. A DC-based group called "Club for Growth" was formed not long ago to promote conservative Republican principles. That's a polite way to say "punish the heretics," and Briggs is near the top of the list of those who ought to be tied to an anthill. The club has thus far hesitated to back Patterson and is said to be on the horns of a dilemma: They don't like Briggs, but they also don't like GOP Rep. Bill Thomas of Bakersfield, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. That has significance in this race because the third major candidate is a Thomas protege: Devin Nunes, a 28-year-old Tulare Co. dairy farmer and college trustee whose previous foray into congressional politics was a losing effort in a 1998 primary. Thanks to Thomas' all-out support, however, Nunes reported having raised $350,000 by the end of year, money that allowed him to use a network TV buy to raise his profile. Nunes also has the advantage of being the only major candidate from Tulare Co. — an citadel of parochial voters who make up 57% of the district. Thanks to Thomas and his connections — both in Bakersfield and Washington — Nunes will have as much money as he needs. The converse is true for Nunes' competitors because Thomas reportedly has flexed his considerable clout in an attempt to dry up their funding. The Briggs camp believes it can still be outspent and win, but there are limits. They have a chance, they insist, if the margin is 2- or 3-to-1. But their prospects dim if that margin escalates to 5-to-1. Given registration, the winner of this primary effectively wins the seat come November. And in an odd twist of the mapmaker's pen, a Nunes victory will leave Fresno — California's sixth largest city — without its own congressman.

Briggs

Nunes


Patterson



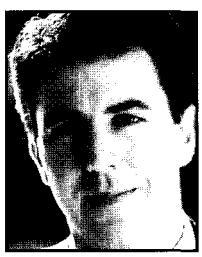

## DISTRICT 39 (55% D - 28% R - 13% DS)

**Democrats:** Hector De La Torre (South Gate), Ken Graham (Lakewood), Cecy Groom (Cerritos), Sally Havice (Bellflower), Helen Rahder (Whittier), Linda Sanchez (Hawaiian Gardens)

**Republicans:** Tim Escobar (La Mirada), Richard Owens (Lakewood)

**Libertarian:** Richard Newhouse (Garden Grove)

Five-term Republican Rep. Steve Horn promptly announced his retirement after taking one look at this redrawn district, leaving an open seat that lured six Democratic hopefuls. Chief among them are Assm. Sally Havice, South Gate Councilman Hector De La Torre and labor official Linda Sanchez. Early polling showed Havice and Sanchez running even, with De La Torre a close third. Of the three, Havice's early stature may be the closest to an illusion. Although she has won three tough general elections in the area, only about a quarter of her old Assembly seat overlaps this district. In addition, she has never been known as a strong campaigner or fund raiser, and her Assembly efforts largely were financed by Democratic colleagues in Sacramento. The termed-out Havice is ancient history for those colleagues now, so she may not have the resources needed to introduce herself to the mass of voters who live outside her Assembly district. Money shouldn't be a problem for Sanchez, who has ties to labor. But her biggest asset is family; namely sister Loretta, an incumbent member of Congress from Orange Co. Sanchez is young and bright, but she does not have much history in the district, having moved from Orange Co. Of the three front-runners, De La Torre's situation is the most unusual. An administrator with the Los Angeles Co. Superior Court, he built solid contacts while serving with the Clinton Administration's Dept. of Labor in Washington, D.C., during the mid-1990s. He has been active in regional government, has been endorsed by Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante and has consultant Parke Skelton


De La Torre

Havice

Sanchez



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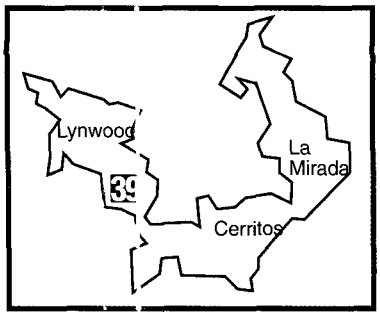


advising his campaign. His fund-raising base is solid, and he had the best name ID as the race got underway. His profile was high because he twice has been elected to the City Council in South Gate, which makes up about 12% of the district. A former teacher, he also has been endorsed by the California Federation of Teachers. In a district where the candidates won't differ much on issues, the campaign will be won in the mail and on the ground, and De La Torre would seem to have an edge there as well. Under normal circumstances, De La Torre would be considered the strongest contender. But nothing is normal these days in South Gate, a city riven by intense factionalism and charges of corruption. Nearly every public official is the subject of a recall effort — De La Torre among them. Although his recall is not corruption-related but is in retaliation for earlier recalls against other members of South Gate city government, the situation threatens to undermine his campaign. He likely cannot win unless he can distance himself from the South Gate morass. That will leave the field to Havice and Sanchez. Like other contested primaries, this one promises to be intense to the wire.

## Senate, Districts 2-40 (Even-numbered districts only in 2002)

| SD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 50-29-14 | Wes Chesboro* | Stuart Posselt<br>Dennis Purificacion<br>Peggy Redfearn | Laura Likover (L) | |
| **4** | **36-45-13** | **An open-seat primary, featuring a pair of GOP assemblymen** | | | **See page 30** |
| 6 | 51-30-14 | Deborah Ortiz* | | Jason Sewell (L) | |
| 8 | 53-22-21 | Jackie Speier* | Dennis Zell | Robert Fliegler (L) | |
| 10 | 51-27-18 | Liz Figueroa* | James Gunther | Ervan Darnell (L) | |
| **12** | **50-35-11** | **A tough GOP primary and a potential donnybrook come November** | | | **See page 30** |
| 14 | 37-49-10 | | Chuck Poochigian* | | |
| 16 | 52-34-10 | Dean Florez | Blair Knox | | |
| 18 | 34-50-12 | | Roy Ashburn | | |
| 20 | 55-25-14 | Richard Alarcon* | | | |
| 22 | 62-18-15 | Gil Cedillo | | | |
| 24 | 57-24-15 | Gloria Romero* | Vince House | Carl Swinney (L) | |
| 26 | 68-13-14 | Kevin Murray* | | | |
| 28 | 49-30-16 | Debra Bowen* | Jo Ann Hill<br>Amera Rizk | Peter DeBaets (L) | |
| 30 | 59-25-12 | Martha Escutia* | John Robertson | | |
| 32 | 55-29-11 | Nell Soto* | Kenneth Robertson | | |
| 34 | 46-36-14 | Joe Dunn* | Araceli Gonzalez | | |
| **36** | **30-50-15** | **A GOP primary, featuring moderate and conservative Assembly members** | | | **See page 31** |
| 38 | 30-48-17 | Phillip Hanneman | Bill Morrow* | Lars Grossmith (L) | |
| 40 | 48-32-15 | Denise Ducheny | Michael Giorgino | Felix Miranda (L) | |

*Source: Secretary of State*

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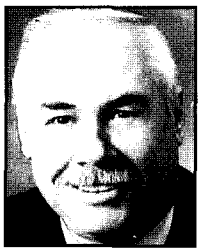
# State Senate

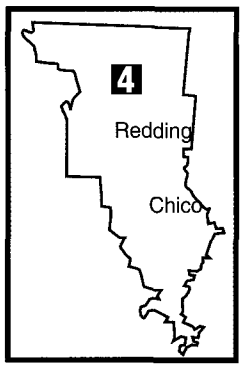
## DISTRICT 4 (36% D - 45% R - 20 % DS)

**Democrat:** Marianne Smith (Nevada City)
**Republicans:** Samuel Aanestad (Grass Valley), Dick Dickerson (Redding)
**Libertarian:** Robert Underwood (Montague)

In terms of politics, the 4th District usually lies on the outer edge of California's map, occupying as it does a rural swath of the north state from Oregon to the Sacramento Valley. This March, however, the 4th takes center stage, especially for Republicans, for it throws two members of the Assembly into a dogfight with strong ideological overtones. The current occupant, Republican Maurice Johannessen, is termed out, and the battle to replace him promises to be expensive and intense, and to hinge on both geography and ideology. The geographic advantage goes to Dick Dickerson, whose base in Shasta Co. sits dead center in the middle of the district and contains nearly twice as many registered Republicans as Sam Aanestad's base in Nevada Co. Dickerson's current Assembly district overlaps the lion's share of the new Senate district, giving the former Shasta Co. supervisor wide name ID throughout the far north. Aanestad, on the other hand, served on a local Grass Valley school board before being elected to the Assembly in 1998 — the same year as Dickerson. In addition, most of his Assembly district lies to the east of this seat, although it does include Butte Co., with its large chunk of Republican voters. Ideology, on the other hand, provides advantages and disadvantages to each candidate. District voters tend to be parochial, which favors Dickerson. He can paint Aanestad as an outsider, given that his Grass Valley home lies on the extreme edge of the district and is more associated with Sacramento Valley and foothill politics than with issues of concern in the far north. Parochialism aside, voters here also are conservative, and this favors Aanestad, who has the ammo to question Dickerson's Republican credentials and loyalty. He must do so, however, without becoming so negative as to offend voters. The ammo? Dickerson's vote for the 2001-2002 state budget, where he joined with Democrats over the vociferous objection of party leaders. If Aanestad and his allies can press that message home, especially to Republican voters in Butte and Shasta counties, he'll win. Dickerson's hope is to make the case that the budget was good for the district, even if Republicans in Orange Co. didn't care for it. Both candidates will have good-sized treasuries, but the real money in this race likely will come from independent expenditures. Prison guards are expected to weigh in for Dickerson, with medical, dental and conservative groups countering for Aanestad — a dentist by trade. Most of that spending will come at the end of a campaign that promises to be close and unpredictable until the polls close on Election Day.

Aanestad


Dickerson




## DISTRICT 12 (50% D - 35% R - 11% DS)

**Democrats:** Rusty Areias (Sacramento), Armando Flores (Modesto)
**Republicans:** Jeff Denham (Salinas), Peter Frusetta (Tres Pinos), Joey Wright (Modesto)
**Libertarian:** David Eaton (Merced)

The 12th District hasn't even held an election yet and already it is the stuff of political legend. It was created especially for a powerful Assembly Democrat, who decided to run for Congress instead. In the process, it created heartburn for another influential Assembly Democrat, who sued unsuccessfully to have it overturned. On the ground, it stretches from the heart of the Central Valley in Madera, over the coast mountains to just short of Monterey Bay near Watsonville. It takes in both Modesto in the north and Kings City in the south and merges spillover growth from the Silicon Valley with Central Valley feedlots along I-5 and Hwy. 99. Politically, it is conservative and Democratic, although its nominal incumbent is a termed-out Republican. Mapmaking aside, the cast of characters who passed through this district over the past year — and the circumstances surrounding their arrivals and departures — fashioned a saga worthy of Tolstoy. Or the Marx Brothers. First, there was Democratic Assm. Dennis Cardoza, chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee. The district was tailored for Cardoza at the expense of Assembly Speaker pro Tem Fred Keeley, whose Santa Cruz area home was duct-taped to a district he could not win. But before the map ink was dry, Cardoza was recruited to run for Congress in hopes that his candidacy would drive a politically wounded Gary Condit into retirement. Condit decided to run anyway, forcing Cardoza into a nasty and expensive primary. Cardoza's abandonment brought a new cast of Democrats into the race, including Rusty Areias, director of

Areias

Frusetta



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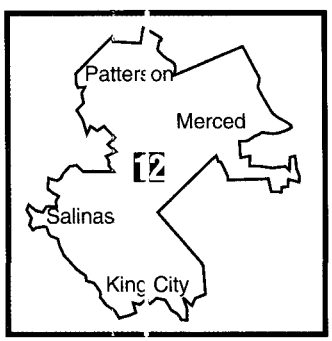
the Dept. of Parks and Recreation and a former assemblyman and Condit ally; Merced Co. prosecutor Larry Morse; and finally -- much to the disgust of Areias — a former gubernatorial aide named Chad Condit, son of Gary. The Republican dance card was filled out by former Assm. Peter Frusetta and businessman Jeff Denham. At the time, the Democratic primary promised the most fireworks, with Areias and Condit poised to lob cherry bombs and Morse prepared to reap rewards from their dustup. The Condit candidacy especially intrigued observers, given that his father was running against all advice in an overlapping congressional district and against the hand-picked candidate of Democratic pooh-bahs. Alas, both Chad Condit and Morse withdrew, leaving the field to Areias and Modesto attorney Armando Flores. Flores, who filed a statement of intent but displayed no fund-raising activity, is not considered a serious challenge to Areias, who represented much of the area in the Assembly between 1982 and 1994. With the Democratic side suddenly quiet, the focus shifted to the Republican primary, where the 69-year-old Frusetta is mounting a political comeback against Denham. A popular rancher, Frusetta succeeded Areias in the Assembly, serving from 1994 until being termed out in 2000. While an assemblymman, Frusetta was regarded as an eccentric in Sacramento, given to rambling floor speeches that often defied interpretation. But he was an electoral dynamo in his district, regularly sweeping aside targeted challenges by Assembly Democrats. Frusetta, who seeded his comeback with a $200,000 loan and hired consultant Wayne Johnson to ramrod his campaign, would seem a good fit on both sides of the district. His natural base lies west of the mountains, and he remains popular there even after two years out of office. But his ranching background and folksy ways ought to play well east of the coast range as well, where 70% of the district is new to him but where it sprawls through rural farmlands. Denham, on the other hand, can self-fund as well as Frusetta, as he proved in an unsuccessful attempt to win Frusetta's Assembly seat two years ago. He lost to Democrat Simon Salinas in a brawl where the two sides spent an estimated $2 million. The Denham campaign touts its candidate as a "new senator for a new generation," but the early nod must go to Frusetta unless Senate Republicans weigh in heavily for Denham – support they may be reluctant to give after seeing their Assembly counterparts pour massive resources into Denham's losing effort in 2000. Should Frusetta prevail, it will set up an interesting rematch with Areias. The two squared off in a 1992 Assembly race, and although Areias won handily, the contest was fought from the gutter, down.



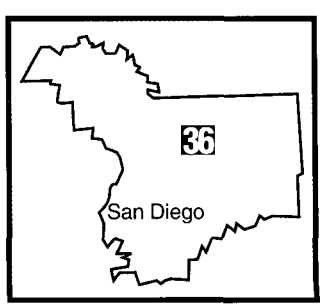

## DISTRICT 36 (30% D - 50% R - 15% DS)

**Democrat:** Adrienne Westall (Temecula)
**Republicans:** Dennis Hollingsworth (La Mesa), Charlene Zettel (Poway)
**Libertarian:** Michael Metti (El Cajon)

Hollingsworth

Zettel

Like the GOP primary in the 4th District, this clash of incumbent Assembly members features ideology against geography. Conservative Dennis Hollingsworth currently represents a district centered in high-growth areas of western Riverside Co., while moderate Charlene Zettel's district lies entirely in San Diego Co. Two-thirds of the Senate district is in San Diego Co., giving Zettel an advantage. The Hollingsworth camp insists that while geography is important, the pro-choice Zettel will have a harder time selling herself among hard-core conservative Republicans in Riverside Co. than Hollingsworth will among Republican voters in San Diego — a point Zettel allies concede. The Hollingsworth campaign will make Zettel's ideology a focus of its effort, calling attention to her stance on abortion rights and gun ownership. If he can succeed at painting her too far to the left, Hollingsworth can win in this right-leaning district despite her geographic advantage. Organizationally and in terms of money, observers say Zettel may have the upper hand. She is regarded as the better fund raiser, although both campaigns had about the same amount of cash on hand at the end of January. And both campaigns had high-powered consultants from Sacramento; McNally-Temple on behalf of Zettel and Wayne Johnson advising Hollingsworth. Candidate fund-raising provides only part of the money to be lavished here, for independent expenditures by conservative and other groups on behalf of both candidates are expected to provide the bulk of spending. Hollingsworth has racked up conservative endorsements, including that of the termed-out incumbent — Republican Ray Haynes. He has been endorsed as well by fellow GOP Assm. Jay LaSuer, who hails from San Diego, and by former Assm. GOP Ldr. Scott Baugh. The National Rifle Assn., too, has weighed in for Hollingsworth. Meanwhile, Zettel has made inroads in Riverside Co., garnering endorsements from Riverside Co. deputy sheriffs and several local officials. She also picked up backing from former GOP Sen. Ldr. Ross Johnson. The big winner in this race may be the post office, however. The area is rife with high-propensity Republican voters who must be reached by targeted mail.

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## Assembly, Districts 1-32

| AD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 46-30-15 | **Both parties have heated primaries** | | | **See page 34** |
| 2 | 37-46-12 | **A hot GOP primary** | | | **See page 35** |
| 3 | 36-43-14 | **Another GOP brawl** | | | **See page 35** |
| 4 | 36-45-14 | Scott Warren | Tim Leslie* | | |
| 5 | 39-43-13 | Eric Ulis | Dave Cox* | Roberto Leibman (L) | |
| 6 | 50-28-16 | Joe Nation* | Kenneth Hitt | Richard Olmstead (L) | |
| 7 | 53-29-13 | Pat Wiggins* | | David Kozlowski (L) | |
| 8 | 48-31-16 | **A three-way Democratic primary to replace Helen Thomson** | | | **See page 35** |
| 9 | 58-23-14 | Darrell Steinberg* | David Pegos | Douglas Poston (L) | |
| 10 | 41-44-11 | **Both parties have primaries in a district that could be hot all year** | | | **See page 36** |
| 11 | 54-27-11 | Joe Canciamilla* | Jan Denny | Frank Manske (L) | |
| 12 | 55-16-25 | **A trio of Democrats vies to replace Kevin Shelley** | | | **See page 37** |
| 13 | 58-12-23 | **Termed-out Carole Migden means a hot primary** | | | **See page 37** |
| 14 | 59-18-14 | **Berkeley is the center of a Democratic brawl** | | | **See page 37** |
| 15 | 38-44-12 | **Any East Bay GOP primary** | | | **See page 38** |
| 16 | 64-12-17 | Wilma Chan* | George Nugent | Richard Armstrong (L) | |
| 17 | 53-35-8 | Barbara Matthews*<br>William Sweet Jr. | Brian McCabe<br>Moses Sanchez | | A top GOP priority in the fall. |
| 18 | 56-25-15 | Ellen Corbett* | Jack Hovingh | | |
| 19 | 51-27-18 | **A termed-out Democrat's daughter tries to succeed him** | | | **See page 38** |
| 20 | 48-28-19 | John Dutra* | Daniel Dow | Keith Lyon (L) | |
| 21 | 45-33-17 | Joe Simitian* | James Russell | Raymond Bell Jr. (L) | |
| 22 | 44-30-21 | **Democratic primary to replace Elaine Alquist** | | | **See page 39** |
| 23 | 53-23-19 | Manny Diaz* | | Warner Bloomberg III (G) | |
| 24 | 46-32-17 | Rebecca Cohn* | | | |
| 25 | 40-44-11 | Wesley Firch<br>Denise Smith | Dave Cogdill* | | |
| 26 | 45-42-8 | **A pair of hot primaries in a toss-up seat** | | | **See page 39** |
| 27 | 47-29-16 | John Laird | Stephany Aguilar<br>Charles Carter | Gordon Sachtjen (L) | Possible November target for the GOP |
| 28 | 52-30-14 | Simon Salinas* | Jane Howard | | |
| 29 | 38-49-10 | **A hot GOP primary, with a potential Democratic ambush come Nov** | | | **See page 40** |
| 30 | 49-36-10 | **The Florez seat** | | | **See page 40** |
| 31 | 52-34-10 | Sarah Reyes* | | | |
| 32 | 32-53-10 | **With Ashburn termed, a GOP primary** | | | **See page 41** |



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## Assembly, Districts 33-63

| AD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | 37-43-13 | Laurence Houlgate<br>Merrily Karr | Abel Maldonado* | | |
| 34 | 38-46-12 | | Bill Maze | | |
| 35 | 45-33-16 | Hannah-Beth Jackson* | Robert Pohl III | Craig Thomas (L)<br>Cary Savitch (RF) | |
| **36** | **37-45-13** | **Wyman vs. Runner** | | | **See page 41** |
| 37 | 35-46-14 | Bruce Thomas Jr. | Tony Strickland*<br>James Duzick | | |
| 38 | 36-46-14 | Paula Calderon | Keith Richman* | Karl Lembke (L) | |
| **39** | **61-20-14** | **The Cardenas seat** | | | **See page 42** |
| **40** | **49-32-14** | **The Hertzberg seat** | | | **See page 42** |
| 41 | 49-31-15 | Fran Pavley* | Michael Wissot | Brian Kelly (L) | |
| 42 | 56-22-17 | Paul Koretz* | Jeffrey Bissiri | | |
| 43 | 46-33-16 | Dario Frommer* | Ingrid Geyer | Sandor Woren (L) | |
| 44 | 48-34-14 | Carol Liu* | Dan O'Connell | Bob New (L) | |
| 45 | 62-16-16 | Jackie Goldberg* | | Judy Cook (L) | |
| **46** | **71-11-13** | **The Cedillo seat** | | | **See page 43** |
| 47 | 68-14-14 | Herb Wesson Jf.* | Jonathan Leonard | Keith Clemens | |
| **48** | **75-9-11** | **The Rod Wright seat** | | | **See page 43** |
| 49 | 50-27-19 | Judy Chu* | George Shen | | |
| 50 | 64-19-12 | Marco Firebaugh* | Ruth Gilson<br>Gladys Miller | | |
| 51 | 65-17-12 | Jerome Horton* | | | |
| **52** | **75-8-9** | **Merv Dymally in a five-way Democratic primary** | | | **See page 44** |
| 53 | 42-36-16 | George Nakano* | Linda Wilson | | |
| 54 | 46-36-13 | Alan Lowenthal* | Cesar Castellanos | | |
| 55 | 57-25-13 | Jenny Oropeza* | | Guy Wilson (L) | |
| **56** | **52-30-14** | **The Havice seat** | | | **See page 44** |
| 57 | 53-28-14 | Ed Chavez* | Anne Moll<br>Paul Pimentel | Leland Faegre (L) | |
| **58** | **56-28-12** | **One Calderon attempting to succeed another** | | | **See page 44** |
| 59 | 35-47-13 | Patrick Smith | Dennis Mountjoy* | | |
| 60 | 32-49-15 | Adrian Martinez | Bob Pacheco* | | |
| 61 | 50-32-13 | Gloria McLeod* | Matthew Munson | | |
| 62 | 58-27-10 | John Longville* | Edward Scott | | |
| **63** | **39-45-12** | **Bill Leonard leaves a GOP primary in his wake** | | | **See page 45** |

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## Assembly, Districts 64-80

| AD | D%-R%-DS% | Democrats | Republicans | Other | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 64 | 35-49-11 | The Rod Pacheco seat | | | See page 45 |
| 65 | 37-47-11 | Darrel Scholes | Russ Bogh* | | |
| 66 | 31-52-12 | David Brostrom | Ray Haynes | | Haynes returns to the Assembly |
| 67 | 33-48-14 | Bill Orton | Tom Harman* | | |
| 68 | 35-46-15 | Al Snook | Ken Maddox* | Douglas Scribner (L) | |
| 69 | 52-32-12 | Lou Correa* | Reuben Ross | | |
| 70 | 28-52-16 | John Kane | John Campbell* | Paul Studier (L) | |
| 71 | 28-55-13 | Bea Foster | Todd Spitzer | | |
| 72 | 34-49-13 | G.Nanjundappa | Lynn Daucher* | Brian Cross (L) | |
| 73 | 28-51-16 | Kathleen Calzada | Pat Bates* | Bob Vondruska (L) | |
| 74 | 30-47-17 | John Herrera | Mark Wyland* | Kristi Stone (L) | |
| 75 | 30-47-19 | The Zettel seat | | | See page 46 |
| 76 | 41-33-18 | Christine Kehoe* | Bob Divine<br>Brian Olson | Sarah Baker (L) | On the November watch list |
| 77 | 32-46-15 | Sarah Lowery | Jay La Suer* | Virgil Hall (L) | |
| 78 | 43-35-16 | A pair of tough primaries that could lead to a November showdown | | | See page 46 |
| 79 | 47-30-15 | Juan Vargas* | Mark Fast | Joshua Castro (L) | |
| 80 | 47-35-13 | The Dave Kelley seat | | | See page 47 |

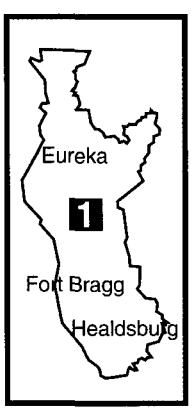
*Source: Secretary of State*

# Assembly

### DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 30% R - 15% DS)

**Democrats:** Patty Berg (Eureka), Robert Jehn (Cloverdale), Jim Mastin (Ukiah), Ed Robey (Lakeport)
**Republicans:** Rob Brown (Kelseyville), Clay Romero (Willits), Tim Stoen (Ukiah)
**Green:** Doug Thron (Arcata)

A north coast district, where most of the action will take place in the Democratic primary for the right to succeed termed-out Democratic incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin. Of the four Democrats, three have some electoral base, although the fourth — Patty Berg — is the early front-runner. Berg, a party activist, hails from the region's largest city and has good name ID in Humboldt Co., which makes up about 20% of the district. She has raised a decent campaign treasury and has pulled in support from area Democrats such as U.S. Rep. Lynn Woolsey and state Sen. Wes Chesboro, who also comes from Humboldt Co. She has backing from some members of the Assembly caucus, the construction workers union and EMILY'S List, and has the added advantage of being the only woman on the ballot. Two other Democrats have reported the resources necessary to make a competitive race: Lake Co. Supe. Ed Robey and Cloverdale Mayor Bob Jehn. Former Ukiah Mayor Jim Mastin did not report raising any money, and his campaign was invisible as late as mid January. Robey, who seeded his effort with a $43,000 loan, is well known in Lake Co., but his base is small – less than 10% of district voters. He's backed by environmentalists, who cut a wide swath throughout the district, and by the Nurses Assn. He also received money from state Sen. Sheila Kuehl. Although Jehn's base in Cloverdale also is small, it does lie in Somona Co., which provides only slightly fewer voters



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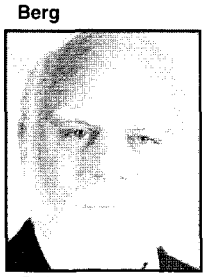
than Humboldt and where observers say the Democratic primary will be won or lost. His fund raising, augmented by c. $27,000 family loan, matches both Berg and Robey. The challenge for each Democrat is to raise her or his profile beyond the base and to have a ground operation that can be effective on Election Day in a far-flung coastal district. Republicans, on the other hand, view this district as a long shot but have drawn three candidates. Tim Stoen, who once served as attorney for cult mass murderer Jim Jones, is a Mendocino Co. prosecutor who last ran in the 1998 *Democratic* primary for state Senate, losing to Chesboro. Romero is a conservative business owner, while Brown is a businessman.

Berg

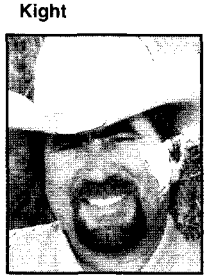

Robey

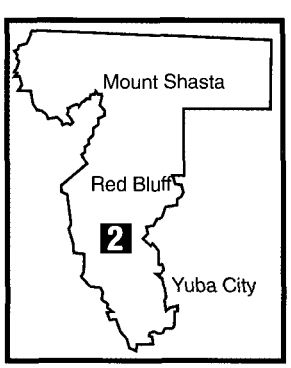
## DISTRICT 2 (37% D - 46% R - 12% DS)

**Democrat:** Doug Kinyon (Cottonwood)
**Republicans:** John Byrne (Chico), Pat Kight (Redding), Doug LaMalfa (Biggs), Dan Ryhal (Woodland)
**Libertarian:** Pete Bret (Redding)

The GOP primary will determine the successor to incumbent Republican Dick Dickerson, who is running for the state Senate, and three of the four candidates have advantages that put them within striking distance. Redding Mayor Pat Kight, with geography and elective base in his pouch, is the early front-runner. Shasta Co. makes up nearly 40% of the district, with Redding itself accounting for half the county. That gives Kight a lot of visibility and good name ID. It also makes him a target, as does his moderate Republican politics (he's pro-choice with exceptions, for instance). His high profile among the bulk of district voters forces Kight's opponents to spend just to create a profile, and both farmer Doug LaMalfa and businessman John Byrne have loaned their campaigns enough cash to get that job done in an area where TV is cheap. LaMalfa, especially, has opened a pipeline to his wallet, giving his campaign $175,000. That is a vat of money for an Assembly race in the northern woods, and it provides LaMalfa with running room. Byrne hasn't been quite so generous to himself, but he did kick in $52,000 as seed money to help him level the field with Kight. With no elective experience, however, LaMalfa and Byrne will have to spend wisely and be attentive to creating the kind of campaign organization that Kight already can put into play.

Kight

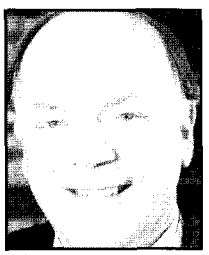

LaMalfa

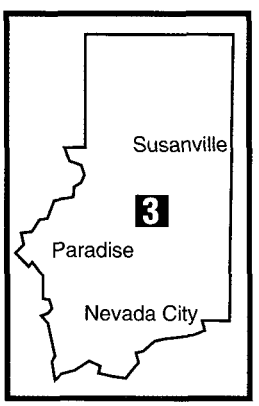



## DISTRICT 3 (36% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

**Democrat:** Stuart King (Chico)
**Republicans:** Rick Keene, Dan Ostrander (both of Chico)
**Libertarian:** Jon Petersen (Oroville)

The primary to succeed incumbent Republican Sam Aanestad will add more anecdotal evidence to the notion that money is the overriding factor in an election. Geography is not a factor, since both GOP candidates hail from Chico — the district's largest population center in the middle of its dominant county (Butte). Elective experience is a factor, and the nod on that score goes to Chico Councilman Rick Keene. Dan Ostrander, a community college teacher and author, has never run for office, although he has some local notoriety thanks to his books and appearances on talk shows in the Chico area. Ostrander, however, has a keen advantage in money, thanks to his own checkbook. He's loaned his campaign $400,000 since last October, dwarfing the $100,000 in personal resources Keene used to jump start his effort. That kind of big money buys a big campaign anywhere, but especially in far Northern California. Ideology will play a role as the campaign unfolds. Ostrander is a moderate, with pro-choice views on abortion. Keene is solidly conservative and has picked up endorsements and financial support from state Sen. Rico Oller and Assm. Tim Leslie. It is also expected that conservative groups, perhaps from the southland, will weigh in for Keene in an effort to offset Ostrander's bank account. In some ways, the moderate-conservative split mirrors the overlapping Senate primary between Aanestad and Dick Dickerson. Keene's job is to traffic on his experience as a public official — a plus in this post-Sept. 11 world — and to paint Ostrander as out of step with conservative values. If he can accomplish those two goals, he should win.


Ostrander




## DISTRICT 8 (48% D - 31% R - 16% DS)

**Democrats:** Christopher Cabaldon (West Sacramento), Steve Hardy (Vacaville), Lois Wolk (Davis)
**Republican:** John Munn (Davis)

The race to succeed termed-out Democrat Helen Thomson has attracted three candidates, two of whom have solid records in local elections and a third with strong

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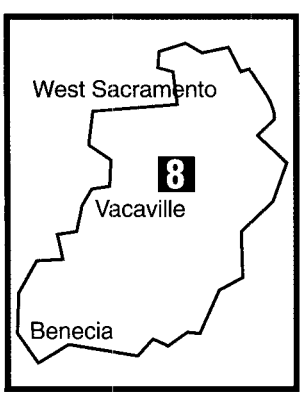
ties to the Legislature. The early frontrunner is Chris Cabaldon, vice chancellor of the California Community College System and a councilman in and former two-term mayor of West Sacramento. Cabaldon has put together a sizeable campaign treasury and an impressive list of local and statewide endorsements. Among locals pushing his candidacy are U.S. Rep. Bob Matsui, state schools chief Delaine Eastin, Assm. Darrell Steinberg and state Sen. Deborah Ortiz, as well as legislators from other parts of the state. Cabaldon also has backing from both the Asian and Latino legislative caucuses, California Federation of Labor, California Federation of Teachers, SEIU, the Teamsters, Sacramento area firefighters and a regiment of grass-roots organizations that can yield volunteer power on Election Day. Cabaldon's main competitor is Yolo Co. Supe. Lois Wolk, who has some advantages as the campaign slides toward March. First, her elective base in Davis is twice Cabaldon's in West Sacramento. In addition, she is a county supervisor, which broadens her constituency, and she is the only woman on the ballot. She was endorsed by the incumbent, Thomson, and by many women lawmakers. Former U.S. Rep. Vic Fazio sent her a donation, as did EMILY'S List. She had about $100,000 on hand at the start of the year, short of Cabaldon's $127,000 but enough to keep stride with him. The third candidate is Steve Hardy, who hasn't raised as much as his opponents and would seem to be a distant third. Although he hails from Solano Co., where more than 60% of district residents live, he has no electoral record and is better known around the Capitol in Sacramento than in his home county. Hardy is chief consultant to the Senate Governmental Organization Committee, and the lion's share of his support comes from members of the Senate — including Pres. pro Tem. John Burton and committee chairman Don Perata — and from the special interests who fall under the purview of that committee; namely, the gaming industry. Hardy has picked up some endorsements, including from U.S. Rep. George Miller, an association of highway patrol officers and forestry department firefighters. Some Solano Co. officials also have weighed in, including the mayor of Fairfield — the largest city in the district. Although Hardy is the underdog, there is a scenario by which he could win a three-way primary if he concentrates his efforts in Solano. Wolk and Cabaldon are largely unknown there and so do not have the inherent advantage they enjoy in Yolo Co. Should Wolk and Cabaldon split their mutual base, and should Hardy's efforts in Solano yield results, he could win. A longshot, but not impossible.

Cabaldon

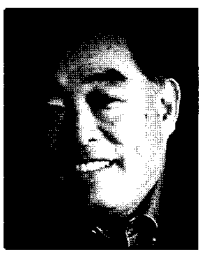
Wolk



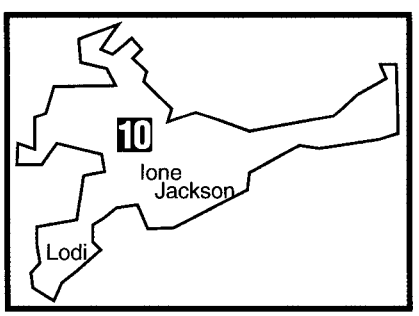

## DISTRICT 10 (41% D - 44% R - 11% DS)

**Democrats:** Kevin Campbell (Elk Grove), Ken Cooley (Rancho Cordova), Louis Kesthely Jr. (Sacramento), Katherine Maestas (Elk Grove)

**Republicans:** Jon Bagatelos (Sacramento), Dan Kramer (Elk Grove), Alan Nakanishi (Lodi), Ken Payne (Sacramento)


Nakanishi

Two years ago, Republican Alan Nakanishi nearly pulled off a spectacular political upset when he came within a few hundred votes of defeating Democratic Assm. Mike Machado for an open seat in the state Senate. A Lodi councilman whose only previous legislative effort was losing an Assembly primary, Nakanishi wasn't given much chance to defeat the well-heeled and popular Machado, but he proved a hard-hitting campaigner who savaged his opponent's record and his ties to San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown Jr. Nakanishi doesn't have Mike Machado to kick around this time, but the residual glow from that effort has pushed him to the head of the class of Republicans seeking to succeed GOP Assm. Anthony Pescetti, who did not seek re-election. Nakanishi's name ID remains strong throughout the district, all of which lies in the media market covered during the Machado race. In addition, he just finished a term as mayor of Lodi, which represents the largest voting bloc in the district. His primary opponents are Dan Kramer, who works for the independent oil producers, businessman Ken Payne and Jon Bagatellos, who worked for former Gov. Pete Wilson. All will need oodles of money to raise their profiles and exploit what some say are Nakanishi's "bad votes" as a Lodi councilman. If endorsements are any indication, legislative Republicans aren't about to let that happen. Nakanishi has been backed by U.S. Rep. Richard Pombo, who represents the same area, and by state Sens. Jim Brulte, Rico Oller and Chuck Poochigian. Although registration favors Republicans, Democrats usually take a hard look at this district, and they always seem to find a legislative staffer or two willing to take up this challenge. This year is no exception. The favorite is Ken Cooley, an attorney who once worked for Assm. Lou Papan and Pat Johnston. He is opposed by



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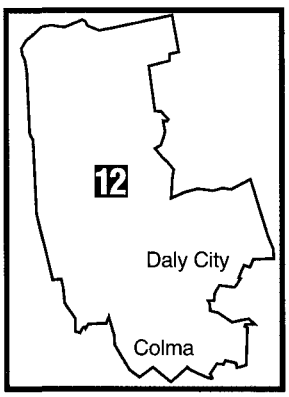
former Assembly staffer Katherine Maestas, who also serves on the Sacramento Co. Planning Commission. With so few districts available to contest in the fall, Democrats may play here if Nakanishi seems vulnerable. One predictor of that could be Jon Bagatelos' showing in the GOP primary. A moderate backed by Pescetti, Bagatelos also has support from some labor groups. If he can run strong against Nakanishi, it might embolden Democrats.

## DISTRICT 12 (55% D - 16% R - 25% DS)

**Democrats:** Dan Kelly, Leland Yee (both of San Francisco)
**Republican** Howard Epstein (San Francisco)
**Libertarian:** Michael Denny (San Francisco)

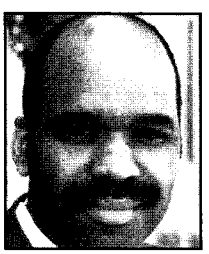


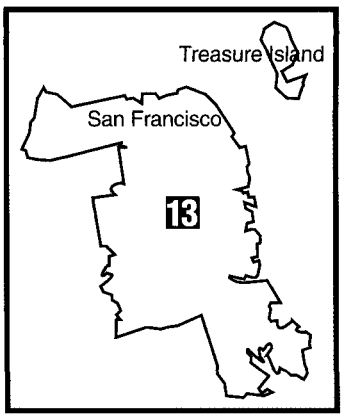

San Francisco Supe. Leland Yee got into the race early and locked up money and endorsements before anyone else could take a breath. Among those backing his candidacy are Mayor Willie Brown Jr., most of the city's labor establishment and newly elected Assm. Spkr. Herb Wesson. Yee also has strong appeal to Asians, who make up a quarter of the district's registered voters. That didn't stop pediatrician Dan Kelly from trying to make a race of it, however. Kelly, a member of the San Francisco school board, is backed by the city's liberal establishment, including Tom Ammiano, president of the Board of Supervisors. Kelly also has backing from United Educators of San Francisco — a merger of the city's two teacher unions. But with Yee sitting on a $213,000 war chest, Kelly will be hard pressed to mount an effective campaign unless the teachers and other liberals weigh in heavily on his behalf. That decision had not been made as of mid January, and time was running out. With Republicans an afterthought in this part of San Francisco, the primary victor will waltz to Sacramento, succeeding Democratic Assm. Kevin Shelley.

## DISTRICT 13 ( 58% D - 12% R - 23% DS)

**Democrats:** Harry Britt, Mark Leno, Steve Phillips, Holli Thier (all of San Francisco)
**Republicans:** Josh Kriesel, Gail Neira (San Francisco)
**Libertarian:** Christopher Maden (San Francisco)

Assm. Carole Migden's Assembly career is ending due to term limits, and her departure has fanned a primary fire that features four viable candidates in a district centered on the city's influential gay community. The most recognizable name is that of Supe. Harry Britt, who can't match the fund raising of other candidates but has strong support from labor. That often translates into manpower, which is worth its weight in campaign contributions. Among his labor champions are teachers, service employees and nurses. He also has backing from Migden and Tom Ammiano, president of the Board of Supervisors — both influential among gays. Supe. Mark Leno, who is backed by Assm. Kevin Shelley, had nearly $100,000 on hand at the end of the year — more than twice Britt's money. Gay activist Holli Thier also has strong labor support, especially from trades unions such as carpenters, plumbers, Teamsters, electrical workers and operating engineers. An elected member of the city's Democratic Central Committee from this district, Thier also has the advantage of being the only woman on a slate with three men. Her endorsement list includes the Mexican American Political Assn., as well, although Latinos are only 8% of the district's registered voters. And then, there is the non-gay: Steve Phillips, a black San Francisco businessman backed by Mayor Willie Brown Jr. Although the least known among the four Democrats, Phillips' campaign treasury dwarfs that of the other candidates, giving him the resources to create a profile quickly. He reported having raised $206,500 in the three-month period ending Dec. 31, with most of it on hand for a final push. And although Phillips has no elective base, he could watch Leno, Britt and Thier split the gay vote, leaving him with just enough to top the slate. This one is wide open.


Phillips




## DISTRICT 14 (59% D - 18% R - 14% DS)

**Democrats:** Dave Brown (Richmond), Loni Hancock (Berkeley), Charles Ramsey (El Cerrito)

On the surface, Loni Hancock would seem a shoo-in to succeed termed-out Democratic Assm. Dion Aroner in a district centered on Berkeley and Richmond. She's the former mayor of Berkeley, after all, with strong ties to Sacramento, where her husband — Tom Bates — served in the Assembly from 1976 to 1996. She has deep roots in the area's liberal community, the backing of U.S. Sen. Barbara Boxer, Aroner, women's groups, teachers and the nurses PAC. Plus, she's sitting on a bank account of $131,000 heading into the final lap, although half of that treasury came in the form of a family loan just before the end of the year. And the reason for the loan appears quite simple: Hancock is not the shoo-in everyone expected. In fact, she has her hands full, thanks to the aggressive campaign being waged by Charles Ramsey, a member of the West Contra Costa School Board. Ramsey has built a unique coalition of support, from trades unions

Hancock

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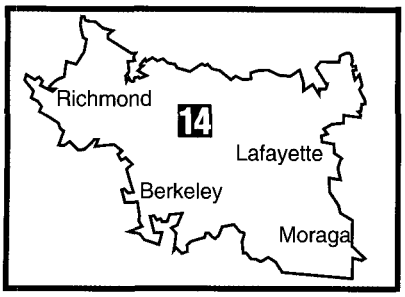
and firefighters to law enforcement groups, SEIU to the business community. The son of Henry Ramsey, formerly a judge and dean of Howard University law school, Charles Ramsey sports a treasury that matches Hancock's and endorsements from the current mayor and vice mayor of Hancock's home town — Berkeley. In addition, he is better known in Contra Costa Co., which makes up nearly two-thirds of the district and is home to a lot of high-propensity voters, as is Hancock's base in Berkeley. Ramsey, who is black, also appeals to voters in Richmond, with its large black population. Few issues separate the two candidates, although Ramsey's camp expects to be hit over a seven-year old "no contest" plea to soliciting a prostitute. Ground operation and mail will be keys to victory, and both campaigns have the kind of labor support that can generate GOTV volunteers on Election Day.

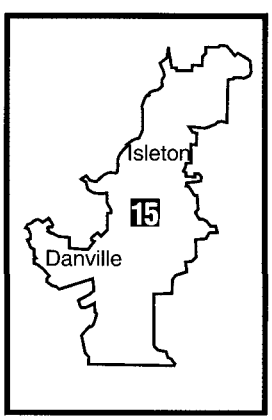



## DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

**Democrat:** Donna Gerber (Walnut Creek)
**Republicans:** Gordon Blake (Brentwood), Guy Houston (San Ramon)

In a district that both parties plan to watch closely, former Dublin Mayor Guy Houston squares off against Gordon Blake, an official with the Contra Costa Co. Republican Party and a dental-lab owner who has twice run unsuccessfully in GOP primaries. The seat is open because Republican incumbent Lynne Leach is termed out. For his part, Blake believes that his past record is a strength, given that the 15th District was redrawn to include parts of his home base in the Central Valley. Therefore, he, and not Houston, has actually run in that area and has a modicum of name ID among GOP voters. Clearly, however, Assembly Republicans would prefer Houston. An early endorsement by Assembly GOP Ldr. Dave Cox signaled its preference, and the GOP caucus has helped Houston raise nearly $275,000. He had most of that on hand as the year ended. He also picked up support from the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers' Assn. More significant, he's been endorsed by Board of Equalization member Dean Andal, an influential Republican from Blake's base in the Central Valley, and by the mayors of Elk Grove and Stockton. A Houston victory sets up a potential slugfest against Democrat Donna Gerber, a Contra Co. supervisor.

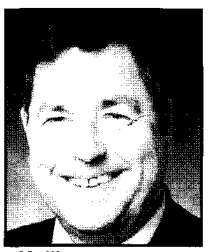
Houston

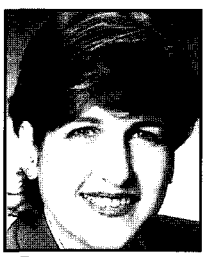


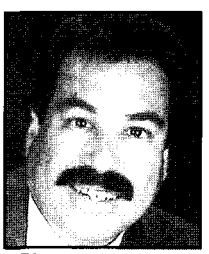

## DISTRICT 19 (51% D - 27% R - 18% DS)

**Democrats:** Andy Cassidy (San Mateo), Gene Mullin (South San Francisco), Gina Papan (San Mateo), Dave Pine (Burlingame)
**Republican:** David Kawas (San Mateo)
**Green:** Jo Chamberlain (Half Moon Bay)
**Libertarian:** Robert Giedt (San Mateo)

This was supposed to be a ceremonial torch passing from one generation to another. The torch may yet be handed off from termed-out Democratic incumbent Lou Papan to his daughter, Gina, but the event will lack the expected element of pageantry. In fact, it's beginning to resemble a food fight. A bitter controversy arose even before the election season rolled around when district boundaries were made public last September. That's when San Mateo Co. Supe. Mike Nevin discovered that his Daly City home had been excised from the district. Nevin, considered a formidable challenger to Clan Papan, grumped that Papan the Elder had used his influence to draw Nevin out of the district — a charge Papan denied. With Nevin out, So. San Francisco Councilman Gene Mullin dropped in, although he was considered a weaker opponent than Nevin. Mullin then grumped at the Papans over the issue of money; precisely, some $350,000 that Lou's campaign transferred to Gina's just before a deadline making such transfers illegal. That helped her put over $400,000 in the bank by the end of 2001. Mullin, who has raised $125,000, subsequently picked up endorsements from all five San Mateo Co. supervisors, and from the area's state senator — Democrat Jackie Speier. But Papan and Mullin did not have the arena to themselves, for another deep-pocketed candidate jumped into the race at the end of November. That would be David Pine, a high-tech corporate exec who immediately siphoned $300,000 from his personal vault into his campaign and hired Sacramento consultant Paul Kinney to help him spend it. Pine has elective experience, although his base likely won't help him much in this race. That's because he was a state legislator in New Hampshire more than two decades ago while a student at Dartmouth College. Pine quickly began airing TV spots in an effort to create a public profile. Not surprisingly, he plans to campaign against special interests and the evils of "old time politics." Translation: Clan Papan. Software consultant Andy Cassidy also is a candi-


Mullin


Papan


Pine



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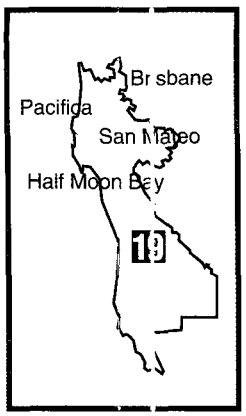



date with reported deep pockets, although by mid January, he had yet to unhinge his money clip. With all this swirl, Gina Papan has seen her plans for a coronation dissolve into a potential mud fight. Although polls currently show her in the lead, her support is said to be soft and hinged in large measure on her name. To win, her opponents need to make that name a liability. It is to her advantage, then, that she has two — perhaps three —aggressive foes. She remains the only woman on the ballot and could see Pine and Mullin split the anti-Papan vote. That will leave the torch in her hands, even if her ceremonial gown is a tad wrinkled.

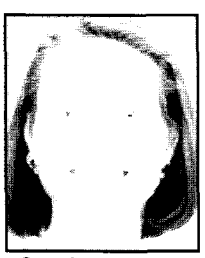
## DISTRICT 22 (44% D - 30% R - 21% DS)

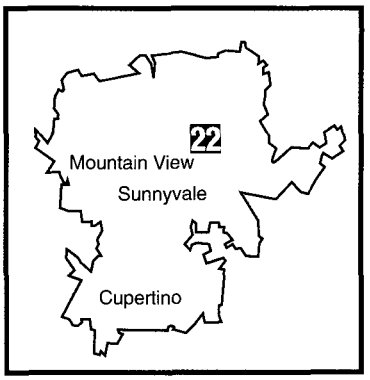
**Democrats:** Rod Diridon Jr. (Sunnyvale), Sally Lieber (Santa Clara), Rosemary Stasek (Mountain View)
**Republican:** Stan Kawczynski (Sunnyvale)
**Libertarian:** Kennita Watson (Palo Alto)

Pedigree has always played well in this San Jose-area district. The current incumbent is Elaine Alquist, whose husband Al represented the area in the Assembly and in the Senate for more than 30 years. Alquist is termed out, and the race to succeed her attracted another candidate with solid name ID — thanks to a family connection. That would be Rod Diridon Jr., whose father was a popular Santa Clara Co. supervisor. As a result, Diridon the Younger has amassed a formidable set of assets. His endorsement list, for instance: two former San Jose mayors, Sen. John Vasconcellos, Alquist, Assm. Fred Keeley, the sheriff and assessor from Santa Clara Co., and U.S. Trans. Secy. Norm Mineta. His labor endorsements include... well... everybody, from the steamfitters to the California Faculty Assn. He has local firefighters and police organizations from, uh, Los Angeles, Teamsters, the Federation of Labor and crime victims. A member of the Santa Clara City Council, Diridon the Younger also has amassed a tidy treasury, raising over $100,000 in the fourth quarter of 2001 and showing $194,000 on hand as of mid January. But Diridon, 32, has his hands full in the primary with a pair of Mountain View councilwomen: Sally Lieber and Rosemary Stasek. Of the two, Lieber has put together the most aggressive campaign. A good fund raiser who also received substantial family loans, Lieber actually had more cash on hand in mid January than Diridon ($208,000). She also had endorsements from several area lawmakers, including Assm. Manny Diaz and Rebecca Cohn, and from other women legislators. Stasek lagged badly in fund raising and is not considered to have enough traction to compete. As a woman who also shares Lieber's elective base in Mountain View, she could prove a spoiler, however. It also is believed that some business groups may dump resources into this district as independent expenditures aimed at helping Diridon. That, plus the value of pedigree, make him the favorite.

Diridon

Lieber


Stasek

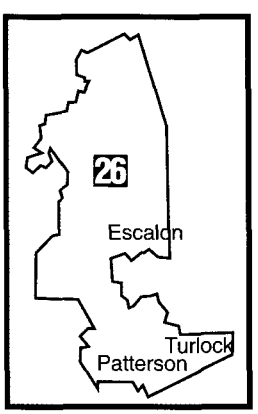



## DISTRICT 26 (45% D - 42% R- 8% DS)

**Democrats:** Tom Hallinan (Modesto), Tim Weintz (Stockton)
**Republicans:** Greg Aghazarian and Rick Veldstra (both Stockton), Chick Winn (Ripon)

Republican Greg Aghazarian's credible showing two years ago in the old 17th AD set the stage for his run this year in a recrafted seat now held by Democrat Dennis Cardoza, who is termed out. Redistricting shoved district boundaries north into Stockton, where Aghazarian is a school trustee and where he enjoys decent name ID thanks to his 2000 race against Barbara Matthews. Given registration, the real battle here will occur in the fall, and Republican leaders want to ensure that Aghazarian is their nominee. That's why area heavyweights such as Dean Andal, Chuck Poochigian, Alex Spanos and Stockton Mayor Gary Podesto have endorsed his campaign — as has the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers' Assn. With half the district in Aghazarian's home base of San Joaquin Co., he should have little trouble dispatching farmer Rick Veldstra, who lost to him in the 2000 GOP primary, or Highway Patrol captain Chuck Winn, who does not have an elective base and hails from Stanislaus Co. The winner likely will face Democrat Tom Hallinan, a prosecutor and community college trustee from Modesto.

Aghazarian

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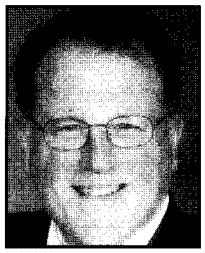
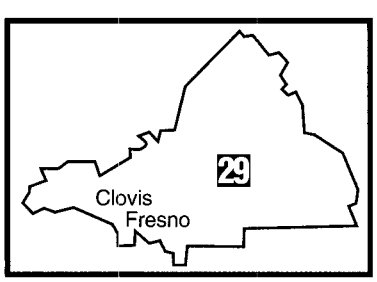
## DISTRICT 29 (38% D - 49% R - 10% DS)

**Democrat:** Richard Martinez Jr. (Fresno)
**Republicans:** Steve Samuelian, Larry Willey (both of Fresno)
**Libertarian:** Jonathan Zwickel (Madera)


Willey

Readers may want to raise their windshields and snap on a pair of heavy duty wipers before proceeding because the mud in this Republican primary has been flying thick and furious since last summer. The two catapults are manned by Steve Samuelian, district director for U.S. Rep. George Radanovich, and Larry Willey, owner of a tile company. That a primary exists at all in this district is due to the fact that the current incumbent — Republican Mike Briggs — is running for Congress. The nasty atmosphere seeped in on the heels of publicity over a transgression in Samuelian's past (a 1998 citation for soliciting a prostitute), which the Samuelian camp admitted because it believed the Willey camp was about to make it public. The Willey camp, of course, denied any such intention, but that didn't stop Samuelian's lawyers from issuing a stiff threat last summer to a popular Fresno Co. supervisor who backs Willey. Samuelian thought the supervisor was spreading vicious rumors; the supervisor — Bob Waterson — denied the charge and claimed in public that Samuelian was attempting to stifle his right of free speech. Samuelian also claimed he had fessed his sins to backers before asking them for an endorsement. But at least one of those high-profile sponsors — Fresno Mayor Alan Autry — disputed Samuelian's claim and withdrew his support. He now is neutral. Although it has provoked more heat than an exploding nova, Samuelian's transgression pales compared with those of other area politicians. This is, after all, the edge of Condit Country, while Briggs once pled no contest to unlawful sex with a minor. That said, both camps are prepared for a rugged and merciless final push, and each had about $150,000 on hand to buy plenty of muck, slime and ooze. Both sides have been touting polls showing the opponent a spec of dust in the rearview mirror, thus calling into question the validity of each. Autry's defection aside, Samuelian has picked up endorsements from the conservative California Republican Assembly, Howard Jarvis Taxpayers' Assn., Fresno Police Officers' Assn., Madera Co. Farm Bureau and several area politicians, including state Sen. Dick Monteith and Radanovich. Willey, on the other hand, has been endorsed by a squad of local officials, including several Fresno Co. supervisors, the Fresno Co. sheriff and the Madera Co. district attorney. Given its progress thus far, the campaign itself likely will not leave Republican voters feeling good about their candidate. The Willey camp will hammer on Samuelian's immaturity, using as evidence his solicitation charge and subsequent caterwauling about it. The Samuelians will counter that Willey isn't nearly Republican enough for the district, citing his past support for Democrats. Those Democrats, meanwhile, will wait in the woods for a battered and splattered victor to emerge. High school teacher Richard Martinez Jr. once was the U.S. Army's "man of the year" — a bit of resumé shine that can't hurt in this election year and one that may cause Democrats to take a very hard look at this district.




## DISTRICT 30 (49% D - 36% R - 10% DS)

**Democrats:** Jim Crettol (Wasco), Dolores Gallegos (Hanford), Ed Martin (Lemoore), Nicole Parra (Hanford)
**Republicans:** Dean Gardner (Bakersfield), Jerry Salazar (Delano)

Crettol

Parra

Incumbent Democrat Dean Florez' decision to run for the state Senate left an open seat and a Democratic primary with four credible candidates. The front-runners are farmer Jim Crettol and Nicole Parra, who bears one of the most recognizable political names in this part of the Central Valley. Parra is district director for local U.S. Rep. Cal Dooley, which gives her entre' to his campaign apparatus and support network. More important, she is the daughter of Kern Co. Supe. Pete Parra — a popular official with an elective base that covers half the district. That and her Dooley connections brought her important endorsements in the region: Dooley, Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante, Fresno Co. Supe. Juan Arambula, Kern Co. Sheriff Ed Sparks, Huron Mayor Sylvia Chavez, Delano Councilman Pedro Rios, the Mexican-American Political Assn. and the United Farm Workers. She also picked up labor endorsements, including Service Employees International Union, Teamsters, public employees, teachers and professional firefighters. They can provide manpower as well as money, especially on Election Day. Parra, whose campaign advisor is Richie Ross, also is backed by Hispanic lawmakers from other parts of the state, such as U.S. Rep. Loretta Sanchez and state Sen. Richard Alarcon. Crettol, president of the Farm Bureau, represents a more moderate wing of the Democratic Party and has the backing of another influential legislator — the area's termed-out state senator, Democrat Jim Costa. Crettol had nearly twice as much money on hand as Parra by mid January ($103,000 to $41,000) after having raised $83,000 in the fourth quarter of last year. It is expected, however, that money will not be an issue for either candidate. Parra



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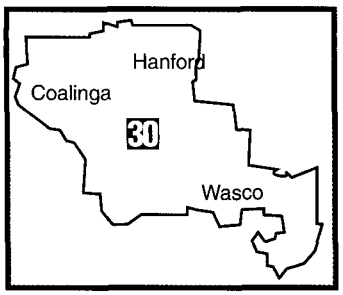
should have the resources she needs directed into her campaign by Latino legislators, and she is said to be the UFW's number-one priority. Crettol likely will be the beneficiary of independent expenditures by some business groups. On the surface, Parra would seem to benefit from the district's large Latino population, which makes up 40% of the district's registered voters. But she shares that ethnic base with Hanford Councilwoman Dolores Gallegos, who is a well-known activist in the Latino community as well as having an elective base in the district's largest city. Lemoore Mayor Ed Martin is not expected to have the resources to compete. Crettol's campaign plans to hit Parra on her inexperience, and to remind voters that Parra tried to exploit terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center for political gain (she earned some bad publicity for a photo of herself at ground zero that was sent to constituents). The Republican primary is a back-burner affair, although Dean Gardner has picked up some significant endorsements in the Latino community around Bakersfield and seems to be the only candidate with a semblance of a campaign.



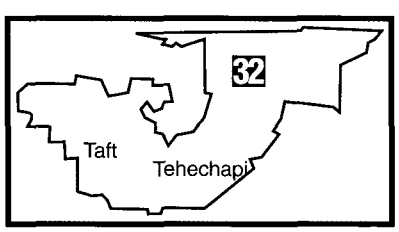

## DISTRICT 32 (32% D - 53% R - 10% DS)

**Democrat:** Michael Shea III (Onyx)

**Republicans:** Mike Maggard, Kevin McCarthy, Sam Thomas (all of Bakersfield)

With incumbent Republican Roy Ashburn termed out, the Republican primary has turned into a two-way slugfest between two factions of Central Valley politics. On one side sits Kevin McCarthy, district director for U.S. Rep. Bill Thomas. On the other, Dave Maggard, a conservative Bakersfield city councilman. Both had aggressive and successful fund-raising campaigns in the last quarter of 2001, but McCarthy goes into the final phase with nearly twice as much money in the bank ($202,000 to $114,000). That is important in a sprawling district that extends from Ridgecrest in the east to Taft in the west and includes nearly all of Bakersfield. TV is cheap in the lower Central Valley, and much of the campaign may be fought out over the airwaves, with targeted mail reinforcing the message. McCarthy was the early favorite, thanks to the Thomas connection, but Maggard has built an interesting coalition of supporters, from conservatives such as Howard Ahmanson and the Howard Jarvis organization to the California Federation of Labor, firefighters and law enforcement groups. If labor can provide volunteers and manpower, it may offset McCarthy's financial advantage. It also can provide McCarthy with ammo to call into question Maggard's Republican loyalties. Maggard's elective base in Bakersfield does contain more than half the district's registered voters, but the Thomas name and clout carry a lot of weight in this region, potentially giving McCarthy the wherewithal to coast comfortably toward the finish line.

Maggard



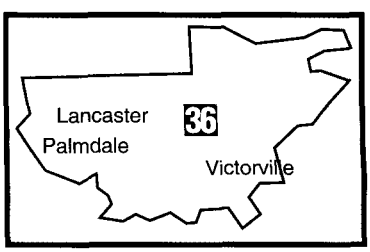

## DISTRICT 36 (37% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

**Democrats:** Byron Bostic (Lancaster), Robert Davenport (Palmdale)

**Republicans:** Mike Dispenza, Ollie McCaulley (both of Palmdale), Sharon Runner (Lancaster), Phil Wyman* (Victorville)

Republican Phil Wyman is an incumbent. He's just not *the* incumbent from this district. That would be Republican George Runner, who is termed out. Wyman's current district is — or was — the 34th, which was rearranged in redistricting and a sliver of it attached to AD 36. Wyman could have run in what was left of his old AD 34, but he chose instead to move into this territory — ironically leaving his old district with only one candidate. By moving, he drops into a primary with three other Republicans, including Sharon Runner, wife of the current incumbent. Although Palmdale Councilman Mike Dispenza is in the hunt along with Ollie McCaulley, the fight will focus on Wyman and Runner, and both will have the resources to contest the election to the end. To this point, Wyman's career resembles a bungee cord attached to a moving van. He was first elected to the Assembly in 1978 from Tehachapi, serving until he lost a congressional primary to Buck McKeon in 1992 in a district centered around Palmdale in Los Angeles Co. He rebounded in 1993 by winning a special election to fill a state Senate vacancy in the Central Valley, only to lose the following year to Democrat Jim Costa in a redrawn district. He returned to the Assembly in 2000. As a result, he is widely known throughout the region, if not necessarily admired. Still, he has amassed a long list of endorsements for his final tour of the Assembly, including Palmdale Mayor Jim Ledford, the NRA, former Gov. George Deukmejian, Secy. of State Bill Jones, conservative commentator Bruce Herschensohn, Assembly GOP leader Dave Cox and caucus chair Tony Strickland, and most of the members of that caucus. Wyman even touted an endorse-

Wyman

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ment from Roy Rogers Jr. For her part, Runner is backed by the area's popular state senator, Republican Pete Knight, who also hails from Palmdale. She reportedly also has been able to accomplish the near-impossible: uniting a pair of warring Republican factions in San Bernardino Co. behind her candidacy. Several law-enforcement groups have weighed in on her behalf as well, including the influential California Correctional Peace Officers' Assn., which may bolster her effort with an independent expenditure campaign. Runner's trick is to show that she is her own candidate and not merely an extension of her husband. She also will have to hammer home the notion that she is native to the district while Wyman carpetbagged in from his traditional base in Kern Co. In a region where campaigning is heavily reliant on mail, her effort will be expensive because the district is large in terms of households with high-propensity voters who require targeted messages. That ultimately could give an advantage to Wyman, who had nearly $100,000 more in the bank than Runner by mid-January.

## DISTRICT 39 (61% D - 20% R - 14% DS)

**Democrats:** Yolanda Fuentes, Cindy Montanez (both of San Fernando)

**Republican:** Ely de la Cruz Ayao (North Hollywood)

Montanez

It wouldn't be an election season in Los Angeles without a huge dose of Latino political factionalism, as this race in the northeast San Fernando Valley demonstrates. In this case, the enforced departure of incumbent Democrat Tony Cardenas due to term limits has created a two-way dustup that features one faction led by Cardenas and Los Angeles City Council Pres. Alex Padilla against one centered on state Sen. Richard Alarcon. Cardenas' hand-picked successor is one of his top aides, Yolanda Fuentes. The Alarcon forces have countered with Cindy Montanez, the mayor of San Fernando. In addition to Alarcon, she is backed by state Sens. Gloria Romero and Martha Escutia, Los Angeles Co. Supe. Gloria Molina, former Assm. Spkr. and mayoral candidate Antonio Villaraigosa, U.S. Reps. Hilda Solis and Xavier Becerra, and Assm. Gil Cedillo, Jenny Oropeza and Ed Chavez. More significant in this district, Montanez has the backing of politically active labor groups, such as teachers, nurses, firefighters, SEIU and various trade unions. Fuentes, on the other hand, has picked up support from outgoing Spkr. Bob Hertzberg and state Sen. Richard Polanco. At the center of this clash is a local power broker named James Acevedo, a Valley activist who helped launch the careers of both Cardenas and Alarcon. But a falling out with Alarcon reportedly has led to a number of high-profile battles throughout Los Angeles, AD 39 being but one. The race hinges on money, because money buys both mail and an effective ground operation — especially important on Election Day among low-propensity voters in Latino precincts. It also buys a targeted absentee-ballot program. In that regard, Montanez goes into the final months with a substantial edge, given that year-end reports show her bank account nearly three times larger than Fuentes'. Normally, reported money might not matter, for Fuentes would be able to avail herself of the full power and expertise of Cardenas' operation. But Cardenas himself is distracted with a City Council run-off election against Wendy Greuel, and much of his operation and resources will, by necessity, focus on his own campaign. Montanez, on the other hand, should be able to count on labor support to populate her ground effort, both as precinct walkers and GOTV volunteers. Most observers see this as intense and nasty in an area known for tough, nasty — and very close — elections. Oh, and issues? No issue of significance separates the two candidates. This is a war of personality, money, ground operation and mail. Period.

## DISTRICT 40 (49% D - 32% R - 14% DS)

**Democrats:** Andrei Cherny (Van Nuys), Lloyd Levine (Sherman Oaks)

**Republican:** Connie Friedman (West Hills)

Cherny

Andrei Cherny's list of endorsements for a seat in the California Assembly is imposing. No, not imposing — majestic, grandiose, colossal. Mind boggling. Start with Al Gore. Then, move on to Louis Caldera, John Emerson and Melrose Larry Green. Include, if you will, Al Checchi, Steve Westly, the Los Angeles Dodgers and the commissioner of baseball. And if that isn't enough, toss in Herb Wesson, Tony Cardenas, the entire Latino legislative caucus, Howard Berman, Laura Chick, David Abel and Ed Begley Jr. *Ed Begley Jr.*, for chrissakes. All that's missing is Lassie, Trigger and Mork from Ork. And why have all these folks leapt aboard the Cherny bandwagon? Because Cherny is regarded as a golden boy of the New Democratic movement, a founding editor of its magazine, *Blueprint*, the author of a "visionary" book (his words, not ours) on the future of public life and a speechwriter for Gore and — according to the Cherny web site — Pres. Bill Clinton and House Min. Ldr. Dick Gephardt. His web bio also reveals that Cherny has been called a superstar by CNN and the *New York Times*. All this aside, Cherny's real oomph comes from the fact that he was handpicked by the termed-out incumbent — Assm. Spkr. Bob Hertzberg. As a result of Hertzberg and Cherny's national connections, he has raised a fair-sized bag of money ($108,500 in the fourth quarter of 2001 alone), with just shy of $200,000 in the bank at the end of December. All



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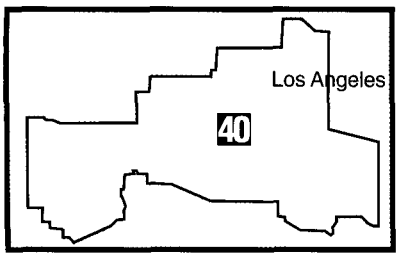
this ... heft ... would seem to guarantee a March cakewalk against Lloyd Levine, son of local political activist Larry Levine and an aide to Assm. John Longville. But, not ... so ... fast. New Democrats are not popular everywhere in the Democratic Party, especially among its more traditional constituencies in labor and advocates for the poor. That could be why Levine's dance card is filled with trade unions. The teachers also backed Levine because Cherny's book touted the glory of vouchers. And trial lawyers backed Levine because that same book called for tort reform. The fact that he has wowed Hertzberg also may work against Cherny, especially among local activists who wanted Hertzberg's district director, Stuart Waldman, to receive the boss' benediction. Levine, too, was busy on the money front, actually out-raising Cherny in the fourth quarter of last year. He approaches the final months with $162,000 in the bank. More significant, his labor support can provide bodies for phone banks and GOTV. All this has given Levine some much needed momentum and made for a more interesting primary than anyone would have imagined. It could even become downright nasty before the final bell. Cherny must still be considered the favorite, if for no other reason than Hertzberg's prestige is on the line in his own backyard. But it will not be the coronation Cherny or Hertzberg would have liked.

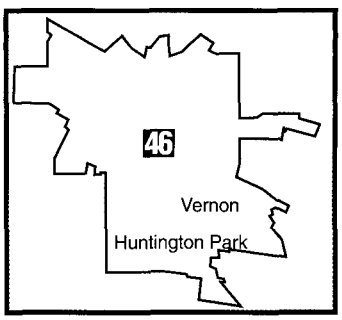



## DISTRICT 46 (71% D – 11% R - 13% DS)

**Democrats:** Pedro Carrillo (Los Angeles), Thomas Martin (Maywood), Fabian Nunez (Los Angeles)
**Republican:** Manny Aldana Jr. (Los Angeles)

The Democratic primary to replace incumbent Gil Cedillo features three candidates, two of whom have the backing and resources necessary to compete to the finish: Pedro Carrillo, chief of staff to area Congresswoman Lucy Roybal-Allard; and Fabian Nunez, an official with the Los Angeles Co. Federation of Labor. The third candidate, Ramon Thomas Martin, is a Maywood city councilman who suffers two handicaps: Maywood accounts for only 5% of the district, and most Maywood officials, including the mayor, have endorsed someone else. Of the two front-runners, Nunez is considered the favorite. He has the most money and a who's-who list of endorsements, as well as a top priority designation from the federation. That brings most of the trade unions in on his side, as well as teachers (CFT) and the deputy sheriffs association. His cash on hand at the end of the year was twice that of Carrillo ($154,000 to $75,000), and he could look forward to labor unleashing its minions to help ground and phone efforts. His supporters include Cedillo, outgoing Spkr. Bob Hertzberg, incoming Spkr. Herb Wesson, a battalion of Democratic Assembly members, state Sens. Gloria Romero, Sheila Kuehl and Martha Escutia, and LAUSD chief Roy Romer. Carrillo, on the other hand, had racked up U.S. Rep. Xavier Becerra, Los Angeles Councilmen Nick Pacheco and Ed Reyes, some law-enforcement groups, and Juana Gutierrez, founder of Mothers of East LA. Carrillo, who sits on the state veterans' board, also was endorsed by the head of the LA Co. Veterans Commission and by Los Angeles city firefighters. Carrillo also could get some independent expenditure help from business PACs who may be looking to counter labor's influence. This is another district fight where issues are a ... well ... non-issue. If anything, the two candidates will go at each other over which of them is the biggest carpetbagger. Carrillo takes the high ground, having lived in the district for four years, while Nunez only moved in last October. In the end, the battle will be won by the most effective ground operation, and with the strong backing of Miguel Contreras and labor, that advantage has to lay with Nunez.

Nunez



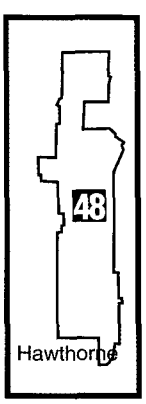

## DISTRICT 48 (75% D - 9% R - 11% DS)

**Democrats:** Mike Davis, Roberto Garcia, Mark Ridley-Thomas (All of Los Angeles)
**Republican:** Gerard Robinson (Los Angeles)
**Libertarian:** Nolayan Herdegen (Los Angeles)

The contest here is the product of factional rifts between Mark Ridley-Thomas and U.S. Rep. Maxine Waters. Ridley-Thomas is a popular Los Angeles city councilman, but he and Waters are said to have squared off over development projects in the area, which she also represents. Those disputes have led to bad blood between the two camps and prompted Waters and her allies to seek an opponent for Ridley-Thomas as he attempts to succeed Democrat Rod Wright, who is termed out. Their candidate is Mike Davis, a staffer for Los Angeles Co. Supe. Yvonne Burke, but he'll only be able to make a race against the well-known councilman if Waters and Burke turn on the juice. Ridley-Thomas, meanwhile, has been endorsed by the newly elected Assm. speaker, Herb Wesson, and by the LA Co. Federation of

Ridley-Thomas

Davis

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Labor, which has made his election a priority. That can bring needed help to Ridley-Thomas' ground operation and money to his coffers. Most observers feel this is Ridley-Thomas' election to lose and that he'll only break a sweat against the unknown Davis if Waters forces a showdown.

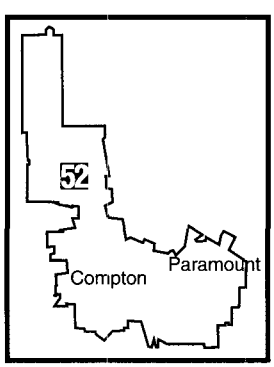
## DISTRICT 52 (75% D - 8% R - 9% DS)

**Democrats:** Mervyn Dymally (Compton), Alexandra Gallardo-Rooker (Paramount), Louis Hill (Los Angeles), Diane Martinez (Paramount)
**Republican:** Mark Iles (Los Angeles)

Dymally

Gallardo-Rooker

Yes, Virginia, there is a Merv Dymally, and he is the same Merv Dymally who was first elected to the Assembly 40 years ago, served one term as Jerry Brown's lieutenant governor (1975-79) and later got elected to Congress for the decade of the 1980s. Now, at age 75, he is attempting a comeback, and the term-limits clock has not yet began to tick for him. If elected, he would be entitled to three terms in the Assembly and two in the Senate. He could serve, therefore, until age 89, thus shattering former Sen. Ralph Dills' record as the oldest serving California legislator but falling far short of the federal mark set by 300-year-old So. Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond. Early polls show Dymally with a huge lead and the backing of incoming Spkr. Herb Wesson and Sen. Pres. pro Tem. John Burton. He also is blessed with having three opponents with virtually no name ID and not enough money and resources to either create it for themselves or exploit the baggage that follows Dymally around like the chains of Marley's ghost. Paramount Councilwoman Diane Martinez (no, Virginia, not *that* Diane Martinez) has a sizeable elective base, but her campaign is short of funds and lacks traction. Alexandra Gallardo-Rooker enjoyed a decent quarter of fund raising at the end of 2001 but still had less than a third of the money Dymally had on hand in January. A union official, Gallardo-Rooker can rely on some manpower supplied by trade unions and the firefighters, but she'll need every body and every nickel to cut into Dymally's lead. She also has the backing of most Latino legislators in a district where 65% of the residents are Latino. Unfortunately for her campaign, only 27% of registered voters are Latino, compared with 31% for blacks — who know and have supported Dymally for four decades. As an aside, Dymally's pension would be dramatically affected by his election. Although Prop. 140 eliminated pensions for legislators, it grandfathered in those who had already qualified, Dymally included. Currently, his pension is pegged to his highest salary as a state official — lieutenant governor in 1979 ($42,500). Legislators now make nearly $100,000 a year, thus providing Dymally with a substantial escalator.



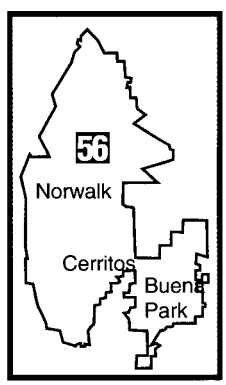

## DISTRICT 56 (52% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

**Democrats:** Rudy Bermudez (Norwalk), Bob Davis (Buena Park), Sally Zuinga Flowers (Cerritos)
**Republican:** John Brantuk (Whittier)

Bermudez

Zuinga Flowers

Norwalk Councilman Rudy Bermudez and Artesia Councilwoman Sally Flowers are the two main contenders for the seat being vacated by Democrat Sally Havice, and each brings advantages to the table. First, there is the matter of geography. On paper, Bermudez's elective base in Norwalk is more than six times Flowers' base in Artesia. But paper advantages often are an illusion. Norwalk is a low-turnout venue. Meanwhile, Flowers has shown strong name ID in Buena Park and Cerritos, where turnout tends to be larger and whose combined population is larger than Norwalk. Both candidates are well-funded and each has loaned his or her campaign about $35,000 — showing donors that the personal commitment is strong. Bermudez has labor support from teachers, firefighters, trial lawyers, the deputy sheriffs' association, gaming interests and some business associations. Flowers has the prospect that some business PACs will weigh in on her behalf with independent expenditures to offset labor's influence in the Bermudez camp. Flowers also has the advantage of being the only woman on the ballot and of having family ties that run deep into the district. In fact, 90 members of her immediate family live in the district, providing a built-in framework for her ground operation. If Flowers has a problem, it is her Anglo name in a district where 38% of the registered voters are Latino. Flowers *is* Latina, but that is not readily apparent on the ballot, even though her maiden name is listed. She'll need to make sure voters know her ethnicity. In the end, the election will turn on GOTV efforts by each campaign in a district where turnout is traditionally low. At this point, it's Bermudez's to lose.




## DISTRICT 58 (56% D - 28% R - 12% DS)

**Democrats:** Ronald Calderon (Covina), Chuck Fuentes (Whittier), Leonard Zuinga (Downey)
**Republican:** Dave Butler (Whittier)

It's always nice to keep a precious possession in the



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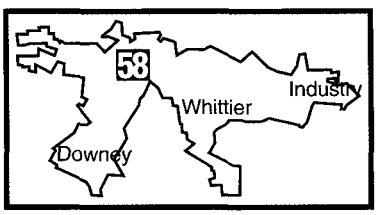
family, and the Calderon clan has managed to do that over the years. Chuck Calderon was elected to the Assembly from this area in 1982 and served until 1990. After it languished in the Democratic Party's pawnshop for eight years, brother Tom ambled along to redeem it in 1998, but he's leaving to run for insurance commissioner this year. That has opened the door for a third sibling, Ron, to protect the family inheritance. Like his brothers before him, Ron has garnered support from nearly every facet of the insurance industry, from agents and underwriters to big insurance companies. But he also has the backing of trade unions, firefighters, teachers and gaming interests — all of which could provide either manpower or independent expenditure campaigns on his behalf. None of this is good news for his main opponent, Chuck Fuentes, former vice chairman of the state Democratic Party. He likely will trail Calderon substantially in fund raising and will have to rely on the good will and resources of those who have backed his candidacy. Among those in his corner are Los Angeles Mayor James Hahn, Sheriff Lee Baca and City Attorney Rocky Delgado. State Sens. Richard Polanco, Sheila Kuehl and Gloria Romero also have endorsed him, as has his boss — U.S. Rep. Grace Napolitano, for whom he serves as chief of staff. He also has the backing of the mayors of Montebello and Pico Rivera, where 25% of district residents live. The Hahn connection, however, could prove a two-edged sword. Hahn, of course, is fresh off his own victory and enjoys a certain glow from that effort. But Hahn also is the subject of a controversy that could get a breath of new life in this campaign: that 15 years ago, when he served as city attorney, Hahn's office was investigated for doing campaign work on public time. The employee at the center of that investigation was Chuck Fuentes. For his part, Fuentes plans to hit his opponent as a legacy who has been tapped to inherit a seat in the Legislature simply because of his last name and without having lifted a finger in the name of community service. That is a message that could resonate in this district, if Fuentes has enough money to broadcast it. Meanwhile, Fuentes has just enough credibility, just enough resources, and just enough potential for the Calderons and their allies in the insurance industry to take this race very seriously. Look for it to be intense — and nasty.

Calderon




## DISTRICT 63 (39% D - 45% R - 12% DS)

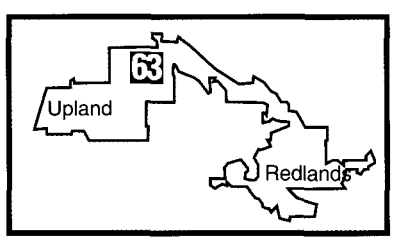
**Democrat:** Doris Wallace (Rancho Cucamonga)

**Republicans:** Bob Dutton and Sam Stavros (both of Rancho Cucamonga), Susan Peppler (Redlands)

Republican Bill Leonard is finally termed out after a distinguished legislative career that began in 1978 and involved stints in both the Assembly and Senate. Three Republicans are vying to replace him, although history teacher Sam Stavros has not put together a campaign that can compete with his two opponents. The early front-runner is Bob Dutton, a Rancho Cucamonga councilman whose family has been involved in Inland Empire GOP politics for three decades. His father is a major Republican contributor, which has neutralized endorsements from legislative pooh-bahs such as state Sen. Jim Brulte. Leonard, a candidate for Board of Equalization, has dual endorsed Dutton and his main competitor, Redlands City Councilwoman Susan Peppler. Dutton, whose campaign is managed by Steve Presson, has picked up the support of U.S. Reps. David Dreier and Gary Miller, as well as from local firefighters and the sheriff of San Bernardino Co. Peppler, with McNally-Temple on board as consultants, has been endorsed by area U.S. Rep. Jerry Lewis. Few issues separate the two candidates, so this is another contest that will be won on the ground and in the mailbox. And Dutton has advantages on both counts. First, his elective base in Rancho Cucamonga is twice the size of Peppler's in Redlands. In addition, his fund raising has far outstripped hers, although a chunk of it ($59,000) came in loans to his own campaign. Still, loan money is just as green as contributed money, and the January reporting period showed Dutton with $116,000 in the bank to Peppler's $72,300. A lot of high-propensity voters live in the district, so targeted mail campaigns are expensive. And that favors the candidate with the most to spend over the final month. Peppler reportedly has the wherewithal to self-fund but as yet to open her wallet. If her fund raising doesn't pick up and if she is unwilling to spend her own money, he'll grab the brass ring.

Dutton

Peppler




## DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 49% R - 11% DS)

**Democrats:** Robert Melsh, Maria Padilla (both of Riverside)

**Republicans:** John Benoit (Bermuda Dunes), Ray Horspool, Lou Monville (both of Riverside)

Well, Ollie, this is another fine mess that Republicans have created for themselves. Factional squabbling between moderates and conservatives is now as much a part of the local landscape as the Mission Inn and must be a source of endless amusement to local observers. Two years

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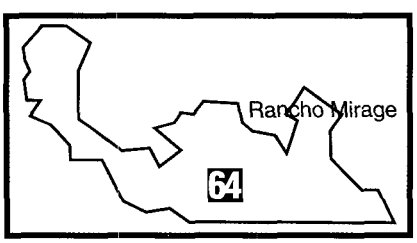
ago, a successful conservative candidate in the neighboring 65th District was forced to resign before taking office because she pled guilty to misdemeanor charges of falsifying campaign reports. The moderate opponent who lost to her in the GOP primary eventually captured the seat in a special election. Now comes this GOP primary to replace termed-out Republican Rod Pacheco, and again, area factions are at each other, with the dispute having nothing to do with ideology and everything to do with gamesmanship. In this case, moderates are trying to force a conservative off the ballot, alleging that he lied about his residency and actually lives outside the district. That would be Ray Horspool, who is backed by the area's two most prominent conservative legislators — state Sen. Ray Haynes and Assm. Dennis Hollingsworth. Standing to gain from the suit is Lou Monville, a 29-year-old public-relations executive backed by Riverside Co. Supe. Bill Postmus, Pacheco and Assm. Russ Bogh — the beneficiary of that guilty plea in AD 65 two years ago. The third candidate is retired Highway Patrol Capt. John Benoit, the only one of the three who hails from the district's eastern desert region. He took up the slack when Palm Desert Mayor Jim Ferguson decided not to run. As of mid January, Horspool had been removed from the ballot, sort of. The Riverside Co. registrar, on orders from a Riverside Superior Court, deleted Horspool's name before sending the ballot to the printer, and efforts to have it restored were rejected by an appellate court. The suit alleged that Horspool really lives in Yucaipa, in AD 65, and not in AD 64, and accused the candidate of falsifying his residency papers. Lawsuit notwithstanding, Secy. of State Bill Jones' office still listed Horspool as a certified candidate. Meanwhile, two other lawsuits were pending, one in a Sacramento superior court and another in federal court — both attempting to get Horspool back on the ballot. Horspool's camp dismissed the entire mess as politically motivated. The campaign, meanwhile, continues despite Horspool's limbo, and it will be nothing if not deliciously malicious. Squabbles of this nature usually are brawls, and it could benefit Benoit as it descends farther into the gutter. All three candidates finished the January reporting period with about $60,000 on hand, and all three are virtually unknown to the bulk of voters. Although located in the heart of the Inland Empire, the district is not historically as conservative as other parts of the region — witness Pacheco's success. The pending dustup makes this wide open, with or without Horspool.

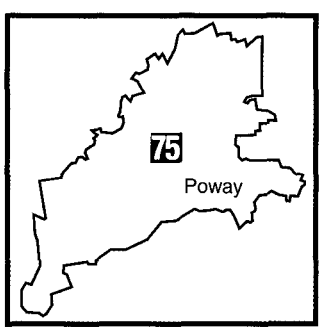
Monville




## DISTRICT 75 (30% D - 47% R - 19% DS)

**Democrat:** Connie Witt (Escondido)
**Republicans:** Lori Pfeiler (Escondido), George Plescia, Jim Roache, Sam Sheldon and Greg Stein (all of San Diego)
**Libertarian:** Richard Senecal (San Diego)

Incumbent Republican Charlene Zettel is leaving one term early to seek a seat in the state Senate, leaving a wide open GOP primary in her wake. All five hopefuls have managed some endorsements, but only three of them have the resources to remain viable. The candidate with the best name ID is Jim Roache, the former sheriff of San Diego Co. All of the district lies inside the county, so voters are familiar with Roache. He also has a track record that others can exploit. He's been endorsed by Assm. Jay LaSuer, who was a Roache undersheriff. George Plescia, district representative for state Sen. Bill Morrow, is regarded as the conservative in the race and has backing from his boss, state Sen. Ross Johnson and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers' Assn. Lori Pfeiler is the lone woman on the ballot — an advantage that helped Zettel in past contested primaries. She also has an elective base as mayor of Escondido, although Escondido accounts for less than 15% of the district. Moderate Greg Stein, who worked for former U.S. Rep. Brian Bilbray, and attorney Sam Sheldon round out the GOP field but neither is expected to have enough money to compete. Stein, for instance, had only $23,000 on hand at the end of the year — enough to buy a decent car but not enough to seed a campaign that must rely on mail and field work in a suburban district filled with high-propensity voters. Plescia, by comparison, was sitting on $90,000 and likely will need all of it and more to raise his profile to the level already enjoyed by Roache, and even Pfeiler. Roache likely will be everyone's favorite target in try to turn his high-profile negative.




## DISTRICT 78 (43% D - 35% R - 16% DS)

**Democrats:** Tim Cohelan, Vince Hall, Kathleen McIntosh, Maxine Sherard, George Stevens (all of San Diego)
**Republicans:** Shirley Horton (Bonita), Matt Mendoza (Lemon Grove)
**Libertarian:** Mark Menanno (San Diego)

Termed-out Democrat Howard Wayne is the nominal incumbent in this district. Nominal because any resemblance between this district and the one Wayne represented for the past six years is an unintended coincidence. Not one precinct of the old district is included in this one, so there are no lessons to be learned from Wayne's oft-targeted re-election bids. In fact, this is virtually a fresh start, and both parties have contested primaries that could produce a spirited race come November. Most of the cur-



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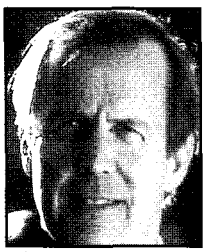
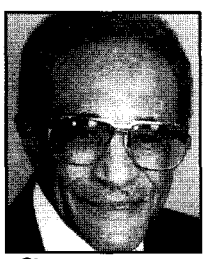
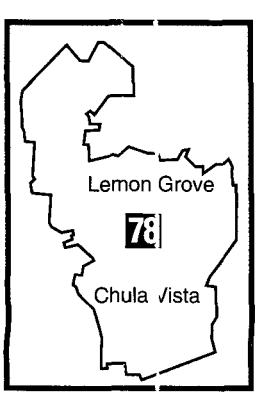
rent action takes place among three front-runners on the Democratic side: Vince Hall, attorney Tim Cohelan and San Diego City Councilman George Stevens. Of the three, Stevens has the greatest profile since his council district sits entirely inside AD 78. He won't be able to raise as much money as either Cohelan or Hall, however, nor will he be able to bring in their level of endorsements. But his positive name ID is so huge that both Hall and Cohelan will have to spend a maharajah's ransom just to build the same kind of public profile that Stevens enjoyed from the get-go. Hall is the most well-heeled of the candidates, his support coming from labor and from legislators. He had nearly $122,000 on hand in mid January after having raised $76,500 in the fourth quarter of 2001. A former staff director for Gov. Gray Davis, Hall has support from Spkr. Bob Hertzberg, former Assm. Denise Ducheny, Assm. Christine Kehoe from the neighboring AD 76, and U.S. Reps. Bob Filner and Susan Davis. He also has put together an impressive list of contributors and supporters from both labor and the business community, blending high-tech giants Microsoft and Qualcom with firefighters, teachers, doctors, highway patrolmen, retailers and gaming interests. Various trade unions also have given him money, although they also have blessed Cohelan. Cohelan's year-end treasury wasn't within hailing distance of Hall's, however, with only $14,600 on hand. That situation likely will change if his primary benefactor begins to open the sluice on Cohelan's behalf. A hint of that benefactor's identity came in a donation from firefighters in San Francisco where Cohelan's uncle by marriage holds forth. That would be Sen. Pres. pro Tem. John Burton, which also could account for financial largess from both trial lawyers and some trade unions. But Burton is going to have to twist a lot of arms if Cohelan is to have the resources he needs to match Hall's treasury, not to mention make himself known enough to have his name on a par with Stevens when voters enter the booth. Waiting in the wings for November likely will be Republican Shirley Horton, the mayor of Bonita. Although Bonita is tiny, she should have little trouble in her primary and can only hope that Democrats kick each other silly, thus allowing her an opening in the fall.


Cohelan

Hall


Stevens



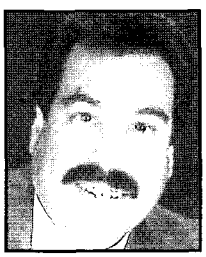

## DISTRICT 80 (47% D - 35% R - 13% DS)

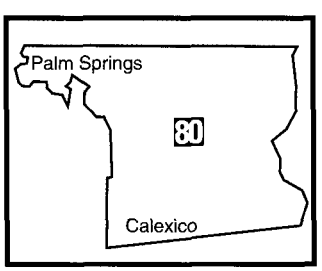
**Democrats:** Joey Acuna Jr. (Coachella), Gregory Pettis (Cathedral City), Ray Saucedo (Imperial)

**Republicans:** Bonnie Garcia (Cathedral City), Blake Miles (El Centro), Anna Nevenic (Palm Springs), John Pena (La Quinta)

After 25 years in the Legislature, Republican Dave Kelley learned to read a map, and after one look at this new AD 80, he retired. Not only is the district now more heavily Democratic, but 60% of its population — and a third of its registered voters — is Latino. That would seem to make this a secure venue for Democrats. But Latino Democrats reportedly hadn't decided by mid January whether to put their full weight behind Joey Acuna Jr., a perennial candidate in this part of the south state, and Acuna won't be able to win without their help. Acuna has run before here, most recently losing to Kelley by 12% two years ago. Democrat Gary Pettis has been laying the groundwork for a run since last summer, although he thought he would be running in AD 64. Those plans changed when his Cathedral City home was included in this district. Pettis has an elective base as mayor of Cathedral City, one of the larger cities in the district. Although he hadn't raised much money, he does have a campaign organization and can anticipate help from gays — both in the district and elsewhere. Some Democrats would prefer Acuna, if for no other reason than his ethnicity, but they concede that time is running out. The situation becomes more acute because both front-running Republicans are Latino: La Quinta Mayor John Pena and legislative aide Bonnie Garcia, who works for and was handpicked by the area's popular state senator, Jim Battin. Battin has been exercising his considerable clout in the district on behalf of Garcia — the word "bullying" has been used frequently — but Pena remains a formidable opponent. La Quinta is the district's biggest city, and Garcia is virtually unknown in her own right. Not surprisingly, legislative Republicans have coalesced around Garcia, with the likes of Jim Brulte, Bill Morrow, Ross Johnson and George Runner all contributing to her campaign. Thanks to Battin, she also has garnered support from insurance interests and the district's influential gaming tribes. Pena, meanwhile, has not gained much traction as of mid-January, and as with Democrats, time is running out. With both parties watching AD 80 closely, the fall race promises to be one of the hottest in the state.

Garcia


Pena

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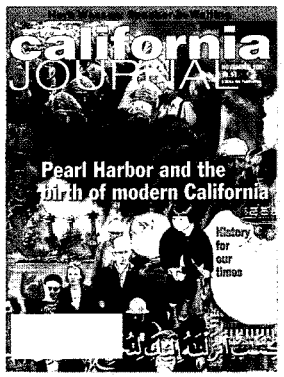
# letters

## Japanese and W.W. II

Lou Cannon's article, ["After Pearl Harbor: the Politics of Patriotism," November, 2001] left the impression that Valentine Stuart McClatchy was leading the California Joint Immigration Committee following the Pearl Harbor attack. In point of fact, McClatchy had died on May 15, 1938, at the age of 80 years old.

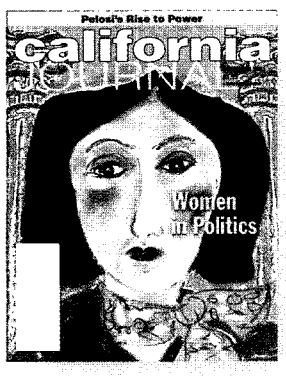
As one who has been involved in Japanese-American studies for over 40 years, I would caution Cannon on the use of Bradford Smith's 1948 work, "Americans From Japan." Smith represents a school of post-World War II Caucasian historians who tended to efface the impact of the racial discrimination suffered by Japanese Americans prior to and during that conflict. Canon quotes Smith, " ... people went out of their way to assure the Nisei that they were not included or identified with the enemy. Many Nisei noted the fact with gratitude at the time." That has not held up to the scrutiny of history.




**Donald H. Estes, Professor of History**
**San Diego City College**

## Giving women their due

I wanted to compliment you on your recent articles on women in politics [December, 2001]. They are accurate and perceptive. Historically, you might be interested in the following:




In 1970, I was assigned Ken Meade's Assembly campaign in Berkeley against Don Mulford, and decided to take him out on womens issues. (At that time the Equal Rights Amendment was still a live issue). I polled it first, and found 3% of the voters cared about women's rights — in Berkeley, in 1970. So we bagged that issue set. Instead, Sharon Meade sent the women of the district a potholder with a set of her recipes on pink stationary. We won and took back the House.

In 1974, I helped to elect Leona Eglund to the Assembly, the first woman to win half the vote in a primary and win in a competitive district. That was only 27 years ago. In that campaign we polled a "Jane Smith" against a "Mike Jones," both fictional candidates. "Mike" won by 9%. The advantage to men was entirely among women voters: If she wins, who'll take care of the husband and kids?

That was Leona's burden in her campaign — and required letters from her husband to the women voters of the district allaying their concerns (we've got it worked out, the kids and I are 100% for this, etc.). This disadvantage didn't disappear for a decade. Today, women ("Jane Smith") have about a six-point edge going into a race — and it is male based. Women voters have ceased to be a liability, but do not support a woman on a gender basis (party and ideology are far more important, with resume and character a close second). However, male voters now lean toward women, other things equal, on a character basis: All the famous political crooks have been male.

**Bill Cavala**
**Assembly Majority Services**

In listing powerful women in California politics ["California's Power Elite," December, 2001] you completely overlooked state Sen. Betty Karnette (D-Long Beach). She's currently one of only five members of the powerful Senate Rules Committee and before that she chaired the Senate Transportation Committee. Karnette was one of the women who broke into the legislative ranks in 1992 — back when it clearly was a good old boys club. Her subtle, steady style doesn't get her on television, but it gets her results. She has proven you don't have to yell to be heard.

**Doug Haubert**
**Long Beach**

I was astounded you did not name U.S. Rep. Loretta Sanchez (D-Anaheim) in your list of California's female politicians [December, 2001]. I'm sure if you asked U.S. Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-San Francisco) she would say Sanchez is a power in Congress. Being a Latina Democrat representing conservative Orange County is no easy feat! Not only was beating Bob Dornan — a disgraceful California member of Congress — a major feat, but since she has been in the Congress, she has been a prime mover in helping get other women elected to Congress.

As one who has been involved in California politics for many years, and who studies and researches women and power, I was surprised at your choices. Janice Hahn (LA City Council) has been in office a very short time and as of now has no record of achievement. Why her rather than a tested California member of Congress? Makes me wonder about what criteria you used when creating your list.

**Dr. Judy B. Rosener**
**Professor, University of California, Irvine**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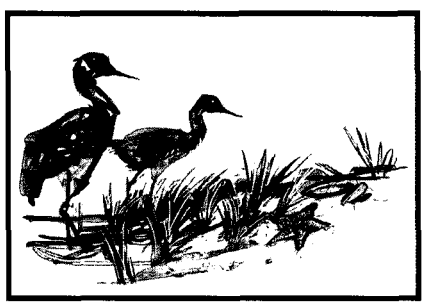
# Propositions

*Proposition numbering: In 1983, the Legislature passed a law requiring that ballot measures be numbered consecutively from election to election, retroactive to the November 1982 election. The law was designed to keep voters from confusing ballot measures that may have shared the same proposition number in different election cycles. The law was amended in 1996 to provide for a 10-year turnover; in November 1998, the ballot odometer rolled back to "Proposition 1." Legislators can circumvent the numbering sequence by passing legislation that gives special numbers (such as "Proposition 1A") to their pet proposals and thus leapfrogs them to the top of the ballot. This year's crop of measures begins with Proposition 40.*

## Proposition 40

### The California Clean Water, Clean Air, Safe Neighborhood Parks, and Coastal Protection Act of 2002

**Background:** In March 2000, the state was flush with cash and economic prosperity that fostered a sense of generosity and optimism. Voters were in a mood to spend and readily approved $4.1 billion in park (Prop. 12) and water (Prop. 13) bonds placed on the primary ballot by the Legislature. But as the March 2002 primary approaches, California faces a much-altered fiscal landscape, highlighted by a lagging economy and looming budget deficit. As a result, even die-hard environmentalists were surprised when lawmakers placed a park and water bond on the March ballot. In essence, Prop. 40 skittered onto the ballot because another large bond — for schools — was delayed until November, when education groups thought it might have a better chance to pass. That left an opening in March for other bonds, and Sen. Pres. pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco) and Assemblyman Fred Keeley (D-Boulder Creek) took advantage of it on behalf of environmentalists. Authors were savvy enough, however, to secure support by incorporating money for specific projects in the home districts of key lawmakers. For instance, Central Park in Rancho Cucamonga is earmarked for $10 million in bond money. Rancho Cucamonga happens to be hometown to Sen.Republican Ldr. Jim Brulte. Prior to 2000, the most recent park bond had passed in 1988; the most recent water bond in 1996. Park bonds have proved popular in recent years, and this one is no exception. An October 2001 poll by the Public Policy Institute of California showed it with a 3-to-1 approval rating.



Illustrations by Sandra Hoover

**Proposal:** Prop. 40 authorizes the sale of $2.6 billion in general obligation bonds, with the proceeds to be used to: protect rivers, lakes and streams to improve water quality and ensure clean drinking water; protect beaches and coastal areas from pollution; improve air quality; preserve open space and farmland threatened by unplanned development; protect wildlife habitat; restore historical and cultural resources; and repair and improve the safety of state and neighborhood parks. Nearly 20 % of the money is earmarked for local parks, with another 10% going for recreational needs in low-income, high-density urban areas. Another $300 million is dedicated to the Wildlife Conservation Board, with $200 million going to the Coastal Conservancy. Distinct projects, such as Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, are allocated specific amounts of money ($35 million, in this case). According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, interest on the bonds raises the overall cost to $4.3 billion, to be paid out at the rate of $172 million per year for 25 years.

**Arguments for:** The bill that created Prop. 40 was sponsored by Burton and Keeley and signed by Gov. Gray Davis. It is backed by a broad coalition of environmental groups, but also is supported by the League of Women Voters, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Latino Issues Forum and the California Organization of Police and Sheriffs. Proponents argue that the measure will help keep toxic substances out of water supplies and help remove aging and highly polluting diesel trucks and buses from the streets. They also argue that bond funds will improve neighborhood parks, which provide children and families with safe alternatives to gangs and havens from violence. They say that annual audits ensure funds are spent as promised.

**Arguments against:** Led by state Sen. Ray Haynes (R-Murietta), the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association and National Tax-Limitation Committee President Lew Uhler, opponents respond that the state's faltering economy means California cannot afford to assume more bond debt. They also argue that Prop.40 gives private organizations money for pet projects and allows them to spend that money for "administrative costs." Finally, they claim the state squandered large chunks of the money allocated two years ago by Props 12 and 13, such as for a visitor center along the American River, and that audit procedures in the current measure will not prevent waste.

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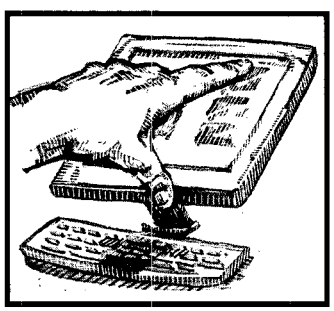
## Proposition 41

### The Voting Modernization Bond Act of 2002

**Background:** The controversy that enveloped the climax of the 2000 presidential election in Florida prompted voting modernization and reform efforts all over the country, and Prop.41 represents the Legislature's leap onto the bandwagon. Essentially, counties — and not the state — are responsible for providing voters with the means to cast ballots. But most California counties are strapped for money, with a few even contemplating bankruptcy, and they do not have the resources to update or replace aging and outdated voting equipment. Many counties still use punch cards that produce the notorious "hanging chads" that often invalidate otherwise legitimate ballots — similar to what happened in Florida in 2000. Prop. 41 is the Legislature's response to the funding dilemma by providing counties with cash to jump-start modernization efforts.



The American Civil Liberties Union also has filed a lawsuit against California (and other states) regarding punch cards, arguing that punch-card systems are more common in poor areas and therefore disproportionately disenfranchise the poor. The measure also gives one of its authors — termed-out Assemblyman Kevin Shelley (D-San Francisco) — a crowing point in his campaign for secretary of state.

**Proposal:** Prop. 41 provides $200 million in general obligation bonds to help counties purchase modern voting equipment and to replace outdated punch-card (chad) systems. Counties must match state funds to the tune of $67 million in one-time costs, however counties also will incur annual operating costs estimated to be more than $10 million statewide. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, interest payments will add an additional $55 million to the overall cost of the proposal.

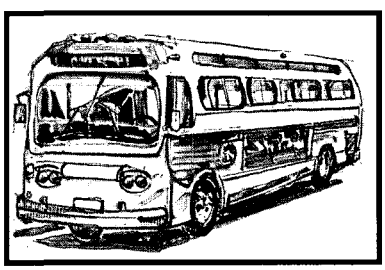
**Arguments for:** Secretary of State Bill Jones heads a list of proponents that also includes Shelley, Assm. Spkr. Bob Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles), Common Cause and the League of Women Voters. According to Jones' office, more than 40% of California voters still use obsolete punch cards, but counties do not have the money to replace them. Proponents say that modernization is needed to improve voting security and increase voter confidence in the election system, especially after Florida's debacle. It also will avoid costly lawsuits resulting from voting irregularities.

**Arguments against:** The Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association and National Tax Limitation Committee President Lew Uhler, along with Assm. Dennis Mountjoy (R-Monrovia), argue that California's debt burden already is too high and that new and more modern voting equipment ought to be paid for from existing tax funds. They argue that the state collected $8 billion in excess taxes in 2000-2001, but that politicians squandered it on special-interest groups, and that the governor and lawmakers have not done a good job prioritizing spending.

## Proposition 42

### The Transportation Congestion Improvement Act

**Background:** California's highways were recently judged among the worst in the nation: overcrowded, badly in need of repair and generally inadequate to handle the state's current population — not to mention accommodate its projected growth. Long hours of gridlock mark the lives of most urban and suburban commuters. Currently, the state's transportation needs are addressed with money from a variety of sources, including the federal government, the sale of bonds and the state's general fund. But the state also makes money from transportation — mainly, taxes on the sale of gasoline and other vehicle fuels. By law, this revenue now goes into the state general fund, where it is mingled with other state funds and spent on the whole range of government services, including transportation. But it is not specifically designated for transportation, which must compete with other government services such as education, public safety and health care.



**Proposal:** Prop. 42 is an amendment to the state constitution placed on the ballot by the Legislature. Essentially, it requires that taxes collected on the sale of motor-vehicle fuel be placed in a Transportation Investment Fund and not in the state's general fund. Beginning in July 2003 (the start of the 2003-04 fiscal year), revenue from those taxes must be allocated for transportation purposes in accordance with the State Revenue and Taxation Code. This funding system will continue through the end of the 2007-2008 fiscal year (June 30, 2008). Effective July 1, 2008, those same revenues must be spent for transportation purposes *as defined in Prop. 42*: public transportation, city and county street and road repairs and improvements, and state highway improvements. A two-thirds vote of the Legislature is required to suspend or modify percentage allocation of revenues. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, about $1.4 billion in gasoline sales tax revenues would be available for Prop. 42-defined transportation programs, starting in 2008.

**Arguments for:** Prop. 42 was sponsored by Assem. Jim Dutra (D-Fremont) and is backed by a wide coalition of groups, including the California Taxpayers' Assn., California Fire Chiefs Assn., state Chamber of Commerce, Califor-



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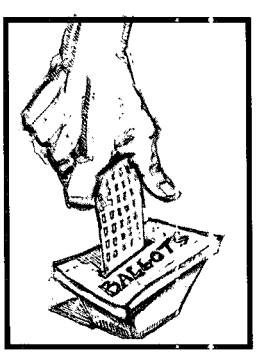
nia Business Roundtable and many labor unions. They argue that gas taxes ought to be used to improve the state's transportation system. The state has overwhelming transportation needs, they say, but the current funding system allows gas tax money to be diverted for other purposes. Prop. 42 will end that practice and speed up traffic relief projects, improve public transportation and fix crumbling streets and highways. Using existing tax revenues for these purposes is a responsible way to address a problem that threatens California's economic health and safety.

**Arguments against:** The California Tax Reform Assn., California State Firefighters' Assn. and the Latino Issues Forum oppose Prop. 42, arguing that the measure forces the state to spend on transportation at the expense of other programs, including education, health care and public safety. If Proposition 42 was in effect today, opponents estimate, $1.2 billion would have to be cut from other programs. Even in the realm of transportation funding, they argue, the measure's spending guidelines are too strict and ignore new technologies and requirements that may emerge in the future.

## Proposition 43

### Right to Have Vote Counted

**Background:** The 2000 presidential election created any number of problems for election officials in Florida, including several recounts in counties where voting irregularities were alleged by one party or another. The situation was crucial because the national election hinged on the outcome. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually entered the fray and, after numerous legal challenges, Republican George W. Bush was declared the winner in Florida. Among the various legal decisions associated with the Florida fiasco was a deadline by which votes must be tallied in order to count in the election. Some Democrats still contend that hand recounts were unfinished when that deadline passed and, as a result, many voters — presumably, Democrats — were disenfranchised.




**Proposal:** Prop. 43, a legislative constitutional amendment, declares that a voter who casts a vote in an election in accord with the laws of California shall have that vote counted. No deadline may be imposed from any source that would stop a legally cast vote from being tallied. County election officials would be granted authority to ask for an extension of any post-election deadline to permit counting all ballots, and superior courts would be granted permission to issue the extensions.

**Arguments for:** Assm. John Longville (D-Rialto), chairman of the Elections and Reapportionment Committee, sponsored this measure, which is backed by the League of Women Voters and Common Cause. They argue that circumstances in Florida warrant guarantee that if a voter casts a ballot in accordance with the law, that vote will be counted. They say that Prop. 43 does not change any existing laws on recounts but merely states a guiding principle in the counting of ballots. In the wake of Florida 2000, they contend, Prop. 43 is necessary to maintain the integrity of California's electoral process.

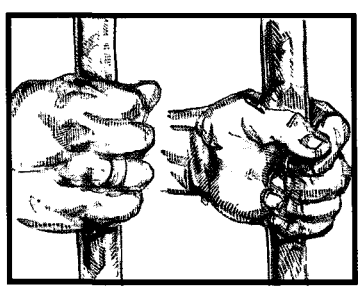
**Arguments against:** Attorneys Steve Wesley and Melvin Emerich, co-chairmen of the Voter Information Alliance, argue that Prop. 43 — although simple on the surface — could promote litigation in the event a vote is not counted for technical reasons, even though it has been legally cast. Every election, they argue, produces defective ballots that are not counted although legally cast — in potential violation of Prop. 43. They real problem, they conclude, is not uncounted votes but citizens who do not vote at all.

## Proposition 44

### Chiropractors and Unprofessional Conduct

**Background:** Insurance fraud has been the subject of numerous legislative hearings over the past decade, and the result has been the creation of new laws and penalties to combat various kinds of fraudulent activities by doctors and lawyers. The Legislature, however, is unable to apply those same laws and penalties to chiropractors, who are governed by the Chiropractic Act. That law was enacted some 80 years ago as an initiative, and any amendments to it also must be passed by voters.

**Proposal:** Prop. 44, a legislative initiative amendment to the Chiropractic Act, declares that the use of persons to procure patients is unprofessional conduct — unless that use is otherwise authorized. It also provides that any chiropractor convicted twice (or of multiple) insurance-fraud offenses will have his or her license revoked for 10 years. Finally, it requires the State Board of Chiropractic Examiners to investigate chiropractors who are the subject of specified charges unless a district attorney objects to the investigation.



**Arguments for:** State Sen. Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough) sponsored the legislation that became Proposition 44, and she joins with the California District Attorneys Assn. to argue that insurance fraud costs Californians hundreds of millions of dollars annually. Proposition 44 merely extends already existing insurance-fraud laws to chiropractors.

**Arguments against:** The Libertarian Party of California argues that the punishments outlined in Proposition 44 do not fit the crime. A chiropractor's license should not be

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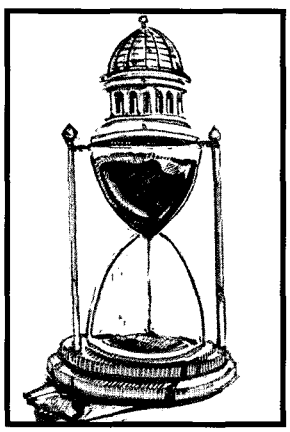
revoked for financial dishonesty, which has nothing to do with medical skill. Opponents also do not agree that the use of persons to procure patients is "unprofessional conduct" but merely an attempt to solicit business. As long as it is done without force or fraud, it should be permitted because it helps provide consumers with choices.

## Proposition 45

## Legislative Term Limits

**Background:** Term limits exploded on the California Legislature in November 1990 when voters approved Prop. 140. Essentially, the measure amended the state Constitution to provide that a lawmaker who served six years in the Assembly or eight years in the Senate could never again seek election to that house. At the time, it was assumed that Prop. 140 was aimed at the Legislature's corps of so-called "career politicians" — especially, then-Assm. Spkr. Willie Brown Jr. and veteran Democrats who controlled both the Assembly and Senate. The 1990 campaign to pass Proposition 140 was fraught with absolutes. Proponents, led by former LA County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, claimed it would revitalize California government by cleaning out entrenched politicians who had become too beholden to special interests, and by creating a new class of citizen-legislators who would return to private life after serving in state government for a short time. Opponents — including most of Sacramento's political establishment — warned that it would cripple state government by depriving it of experienced and dedicated public servants.



The truth lay somewhere in between. Prop. 140 profoundly restructured the Legislature, with mixed reviews. While the Senate has remained relatively stable, its ranks bolstered by a steady influx of "veteran" crossovers from the Assembly, the lower house has seen much of its influence wane. Fully one-third of the Assembly is new every two years, and freshman often chair committees — a notion considered absurd in the pre-term limit era. Leadership, too, has become a revolving door. Brown, who was speaker in 1990, managed to hold on to his post until 1995, completing a record 15 years in the job. Since 1995, however, the speakership has been held by six different men and women — with a seventh due to take over in February 2002. As for citizen-lawmakers, a handful of members who served in 1990 still cling to office, having gotten themselves elected to one house after being termed out of the other. There are even reports that Brown himself plans to return to the Senate in 2004. Although termed out of the Assembly, the former speaker is eligible for a pair of four-year terms in the upper house.

Term-limit laws have been enacted in many states, but the short term lengths and lifetime ban make California's the most restrictive. Nevertheless, term limits remained a "third rail" of politics throughout the 1990s, and anyone who thought about altering Proposition140 had to consider the risks of tampering with a concept that continued to receive wide public support. It is not surprising, then, that no one took the cause beyond the grumbling stage.

The ardor for term limits eased in the late 1990s and early 2000s as seasoning once again became an asset for politicians. Some opponents of term limits also were emboldened by Democrat Gray Davis' successful touting of his long government experience during the 1998 gubernatorial campaign. Playing off that notion, opponents sought to temper Prop. 140 — rather than do away with it — by giving voters the chance to extend the careers of individual lawmakers.

Even those who consider themselves conservatives — the bulwark of past support for term limits — were inclined to support Prop. 45. Even so, all three Republican gubernatorial hopefuls - Secretary of State Bill Jones, former LA Mayor Richard Riordan and entrepreneur Bill Simon — came out against the initiative. Of the six measures on this ballot, the campaign for and against Prop. 45 promises to be the most heated, and the most expensive.

**Proposal:** An initiative constitutional amendment, Prop. 45 allows voters to submit petition signatures to permit an incumbent legislator to run for re-election and to serve a maximum of four years beyond terms stipulated in Prop. 140 (1990) — if a majority of voters approves. A legislator would be able to exercise the option only once and only in the district where he or she currently serves. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, counties would incur unknown costs to verify petition signatures.

**Arguments for:** Proponents — led by the California Professional Firefighters, Congress of California Seniors, California Federation of Teachers, League of Women Voters, California Police Chiefs Association and California Nurses Assn — argue that Prop. 45 does not end term limits but merely gives voters in any legislative district the right to retain a lawmaker who has proven capable and effective. They also argue that lawmakers face difficult and complicated decisions, and that the Legislature needs at least a few experienced members to deal with the complexities.

**Arguments against:** Opponents argue that Prop. 45 is designed to kill term limits. They recall that term limits passed in the first place to rid California of career politicians who were beholden to special interests rather than the people, and they say that it has accomplished its goal — to bring more people into the political process. Prop. 45, they insist, will undermine term limits and give even more influence to the special interests who back the measure — among them, lobbyists, oil companies and trial lawyers. Riordan also has said that he is open to an extension of term limits but doesn't like this version.



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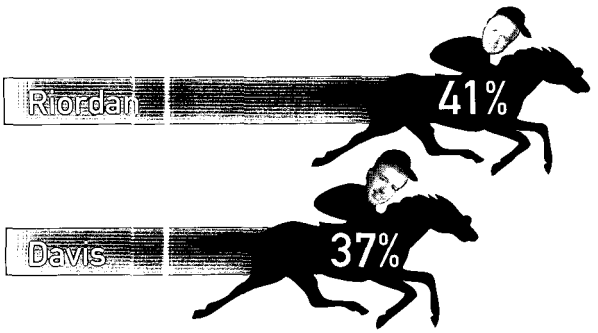
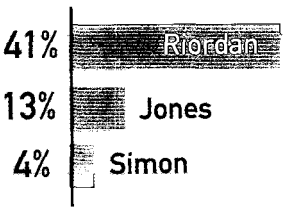
# Davis finds himself in a horse race



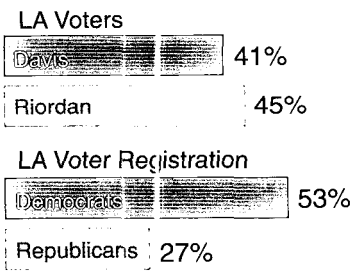

Former LA Mayor Richard Riordan is enjoying the best of times. These days, Gov. Gray Davis is feeling the pain of voters unhappy about the energy debacle and the economy. The latest PPIC poll suggests many voters are ready to consider an alternative and Riordan looks like the best one. But outside of LA, most voters really don't know the ex-mayor. And Davis has not yet cranked up his well-regarded campaign machinery.

**Riordan's best campaign achievement so far is virtually ending the Republican primary weeks before the March 5 vote. Put away the cameras. This will not be a photo finish.**



## Davis versus Riordan, LA style

The best peek at a future Davis-Riordan match should be in LA for two reasons. One, Los Angelenos know them both well. Two, Democrats need to win big here. A tie won't do it. The poll is not good news for Davis on both counts. The governor is running slightly behind Riordan even though registered Democrats outnumber Republicans almost 2-to-1 here. Riordan also seems to benefit from the non-partisan status of the LA mayor's job. For a Republican, he is winning a lot of hearts that are not normally so warm to the GOP.

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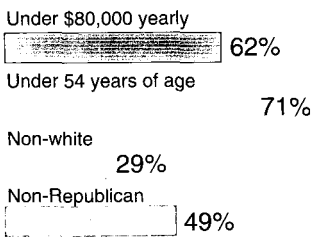
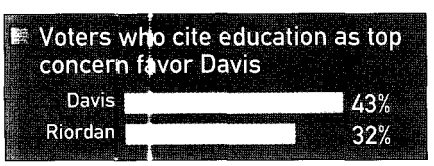
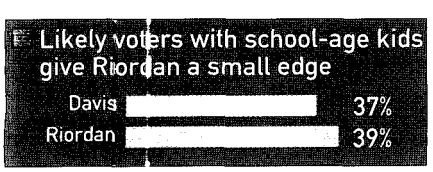


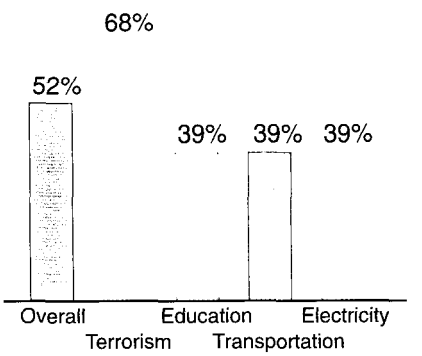

**Riordan's LA Voters:**
**The demographic profile of Riordan's LA support shows unusual reach for a Republican. Half his backers are not even Republican and more than a quarter are not white.**

## Davis' 2002 report card

Education is the top concern among this year's voters, outpolling terrorism and energy. That's mixed news for Davis. It's traditionally a Democratic issue, but the governor's own education report card is somewhere around a C+. Just 2 in 5 voters approve of his performance on the issue, the same score he gets on two other critical issues — transportation and electricity. Davis was actually blamed for the electricity crisis by nearly 7 in 10 likely voters. He scored a bit better on crime (52%), jobs (45%) and the budget (42%). But he may have left an opening for Riordan on education. The former mayor wins among voters with kids in school.




**Davis approval ratings:**
**The governor's overall rating is unchanged since a December poll and it is up since last summer. But on key issues — schools, energy and traffic — there are more who disapprove than approve.**

*The Public Policy Institute of California's Statewide Survey, directed by Mark Baldassare, contacted 2,023 California adults 12/26—1/10. Its sample error is +/- 2% overall, 3.5% for the 954 likely voters and 5.5% for the Los Angeles registered voters.*

PPIC STATEWIDE SURVEY

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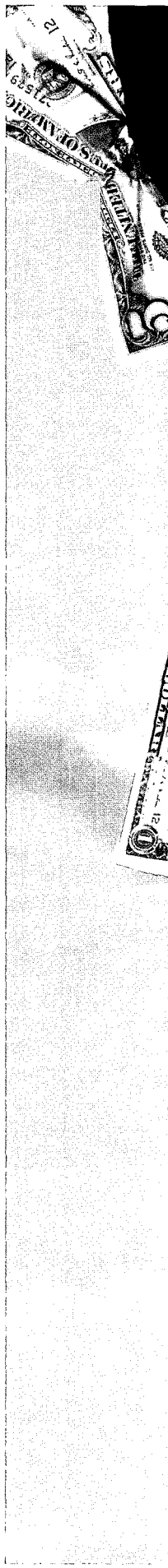
# Cash flow

Campaign money is already finding its way around the obstacles voters established with Proposition 34 in 2000. And a lot of it is headed to independent expenditure committees, a legal mechanism that has been controversial at the federal level and is about to arrive in California.



By Bill Ainsworth

Proposition 34 was supposed to put some limits on free-spending politics in California, one of the last places that had no restraints on the size of a political check. Like a dam across a river of political money, the reform measure was supposed to staunch the flow of corrupting dollars.

But the new law has turned out to be a partial dam at best. Contribution limits reduce the direct flow of cash to the candidate. But eventually money, like water, carves out more indirect routes to its destination.

Instead of ushering in a new era of grass-roots campaigns and responsible politicians, experts say Proposition 34 has merely forced special interests to devise more creative ways to fund their favorite candidates.

In the process, many expect the upcoming election year will be fraught with legal challenges as campaigns explore the limits of the new rules. They predict California is headed for the same controversy seen at the national level when campaigns blurred the line between candidate money raised within contribution limits and other funds raised outside of them.

The California ballot measure, one of several changes in the 2002 election, brings contribution limits, new disclosure requirements and voluntary spending caps to legislative races in the March primary. It was hurriedly put together by the Legislature to head off the likely revival of another, more stringent ballot measure favored by reform groups, Proposition 208.

Voters approved the plan in November 2000 despite strong objections from reform groups. The measure was designed to survive potential court challenges and to provide more power to political parties.

The proposition limits donor contributions to state



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legislative candidates to $3,000 per election. "Small donor committees" are allowed to give up to $6,000. For candidates, the initiative also sets up voluntary spending limits for each election, ranging from $400,000 for an Assembly primary to $900,000 for a general Senate election cycle. Candidates who agree to the spending limits get two rewards: their agreement is noted in the ballot pamphlet and they can buy statements to run in the pamphlet.

Proposition 34 does not apply to candidates running for governor or other statewide office until the 2004 election.

The measure also follows court rulings by placing no limits on independent expenditure committees, the source of many complaints at the federal level. Such committees cannot coordinate or even make contact with a candidate's own campaign. They can, however, raise money in unlimited amounts and, within certain rules, promote their favorite candidates.

Rather than just writing a check for the maximum amount and calling it a day, many powerful interests, including firefighters, plaintiffs' attorneys and business interests, are already mounting independent campaigns. They pay for signs, mailers, and radio and television ads promoting their favorite candidates. Even groups that don't have overflowing bank accounts, like environmentalists, find Proposition 34's contribution limits too restrictive.

"Independent expenditures seem to make a lot more sense after Proposition 34," said Fred Main, vice president of the California Chamber of Commerce.

Physicians believe that the good reputation of doctors will make their independent expenditure campaigns a big help to candidates. Steve Thompson, vice president of the California Medical Association, said his organization plans to spend as much as $200,000 on independent expenditure campaigns for up to four candidates.

The reason is simple, Thompson said: Doctors want more influence on elections than they are allowed under Proposition 34's limits.

Enough other groups are coming to the same conclusion that Proposition 34 is not likely to reduce the money flowing into campaigns, but merely re-direct it from candidates to independent expenditures, said Jim Knox, executive director of California Common Cause.

"People who voted for Proposition 34 thinking it was going to stem the flow of special interest money are going to be disappointed," said Knox.

Some groups are teaming up. The California League of Conservation Voters, the California Nurses Association and the Consumer Attorneys of California have formed the California Alliance to launch independent campaigns on behalf of liberal candidates in Democratic primaries.

Business groups are also considering a coalition to support moderate candidates in Democratic primaries.

Bob Nelson, a veteran San Diego public affairs representative, may have set up the first consulting business inspired by Proposition 34. He and his partner, Bill Lord-Butcher, are offering to operate independent expenditure campaigns for interest groups that have cash but no expertise in running their own campaigns.

"A lot of these groups realize that they don't know how to spend the money properly," he said. "They want to make sure that they don't hurt the candidates they are trying to help."

Proposition 34 also requires more and faster disclosure of contributions. Within 90 days of an election, contributions and expenses from an independent expenditure campaign exceeding $1,000 must be reported on the Internet within 24 hours. The new requirements also apply to the contributions and expenses of traditional campaigns.

"People who voted for Proposition 34 thinki
flow of special interest money are going

The measure requires groups funding advertising campaigns to report their expenditures, even if they don't mention a candidate in their ad. Often, these efforts, called "issue advocacy" campaigns, are thinly disguised political ads.

Tony Miller, a campaign reform advocate who led the charge against Proposition 34 as an inadequate reform, supports these parts of the measure, saying they help disclose the sources of funds earlier than in the past.

David Allgood, Southern California director of the California League of Conservation Voters, warns that the new array of independent expenditure campaigns could lead to a confusing election. Interest groups may bombard voters with a dizzying array of mixed messages in mailers and ads.

Each interest group will have to decide what message is most helpful to its favored candidate without discussing it with the person likely to know best — the candidate.

At the same time, many voters won't understand the separation between a candidate and an independent campaign. Voters are likely to blame the candidate for any ad or mailer, even if it was sponsored by an interest group.

"It's not the most effective way to campaign," said Allgood. "It confuses the public and the candidates. I don't



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think it's positive for the political process."

The interpretation of the campaign finance measure is already creating controversy. The Fair Political Practices Commission ruled last year that candidates with committees created before Proposition 34 passed could continue to raise money in unlimited amounts from individuals or interest groups.

Common Cause's Knox called the decision "ludicrous" and "mind altering."

But Karen Getman, who heads the commission, defended the decision, saying it was intended to provide a fair transition from the old, unlimited contributions to the new regulatory scheme.

Eventually, the commission will require candidates to close out these committees. And the loophole doesn't extend to transfers. Lawmakers can only give the $3,000 maximum donation to other candidates from these old committees.

The new campaign finance rules are among many changes in this year's contests. Reapportionment is also providing a powerful motivation for special groups to jump into primary battles they used to avoid. The redistricting plan signed by Governor Gray Davis all but guarantees the status quo in legislative seats for the next decade, which locks in the large Democratic majority. For nearly all but a handful of open seats, the primary election is the only contest that counts.

"The primary will be the real election," said Jeff Thompson, a lobbyist for the prison guards union. "Anybody who's been a player realizes that the primary is the game to play in."

On the Democratic side, battle lines are being drawn in a variety of open seats between moderates and progressives.

State Senator Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica), urged fellow progressive Democratic officeholders to donate the maximum $3,000 to a variety of liberal Democratic candidates.

"Now that virtually every Democratic seat in the Legislature is utterly safe, we can finally turn our attention to fighting the primary battles, heretofore off limits to incumbents who didn't want to stick their necks out," she wrote in a fund-raising appeal. "We now have several chances to get not just any Democrats, but the right kind of Democrats in state legislative seats."

Kuehl said she launched her effort to counter the growing influence of a group of business-oriented Democrats. Last year, conservative Democrats in the Assembly blocked legislation favored by more liberal Democrats, including a bill that would limit the sale of personal financial information and one prohibiting secret settlements of lawsuits that expose hazards.

Candidates must face one final change in election procedure in the upcoming primary: new rules about who can vote. In 2000, the state operated a blanket primary that allowed any voter to cast a ballot for any candidate in any party, but the U.S. Supreme Court tossed that system out.

In this election, all voters affiliated with a party can vote only in that party's primary. But the roughly 14 percent of the electorate who decline to join a party can decide at the last minute to vote in the primary of any party.

Interest groups and consultants must devise new methods to deal with the many changes and trends this campaign season. But that's what they get paid for.

"We adapt year by year to the changing rules and try to do the best we can," said Allgood.

**was going to stem the**
**e disappointed."**
**— Jim Knox, Common Cause**

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*Bill Ainsworth is a Sacramento-based reporter with the* San Diego Union Tribune. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com**


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# Water, water . . .

by Dana Wilkie

Last spring, Dianne Feinstein made a dour prediction, hoping she could trade on California's energy problems and win attention for water legislation she wants to move through Congress.

The Golden State, California's senior senator warned, could soon face a water crisis rivaling its recent energy emergency — with commensurate shortages and sky-high prices — if state leaders don't agree on ways to store water for the future.

The senator is not prone to hyperbole, and she was not exaggerating then.

Last year's below-average rainfall raised fears of drought, which is something California can hardly afford: The state's population continues to mushroom, the state has agreed to cut its use of Colorado River water, there are no plans to build new reservoirs, and the seven-year effort to broker peace in California's decades-long water wars had started to unravel.

"CalFed"— as that peacekeeping effort is known — is the government's effort to steer those who have long tangled over water away from the courts and to the negotiating table. Seven years ago, the 18 state and federal agencies that comprise CalFed began the delicate task of balancing adequate water for the environment and farms while negotiating ways to provide predictable supplies through groundwater storage, conservation and more ambitious projects such as new reservoirs. The idea was to avoid precisely the crisis Feinstein fears.

**To date, California taxpayers have already spent the equivalent of about $5.25 each on CalFed.**

To date, California taxpayers have already spent the equivalent of about $5.25 each on CalFed. But Congress has not authorized any new water projects, nor appropriated money for them. Meanwhile, those who failed to get what they wanted at the bargaining table are trying instead to get it the old fashioned way — through the courts, the voters or political arm-twisting.

CalFed has held hundreds of public meetings and ordered numerous studies. Two summers ago, it produced a plan that envisioned sacrifice by all, but something for everyone. For environmentalists, it promised to replenish fish and birds by removing small dams and installing fish screens — among other things — and it avoided specific talk of huge concrete projects that might kill wildlife. For farmers, it guaranteed predictable levels of water even if new animals became endangered. For Southern Californians, it meant reliable water supplies by expanding reservoirs at Shasta Lake and in Contra Costa County, increasing groundwater storage and flooding an island in the Delta.

The plan would cost $8.5 billion over three decades. All it needed was government money and the weight of law. But lawmakers continue to argue over the very issues that have long consumed those with a stake in California water.

Feinstein wants to make it easier to build new water projects, but environmentalists fear this might set a precedent that would exploit the environment and run up the public bill. Congresssman Ken Calvert (R-Corona), who sides with farmers, wants to change the CalFed deal by building huge reservoirs near the town of Sites in the western Sacramento Valley. And he wants to replace CalFed with a governing body that would make water allocation decisions, a panel that environmentalists fear would be stacked with farmers.

To its credit, CalFed has improved water quality and conservation, the result being healthier fish populations in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta depleted when water was pumped to Central Valley farms and Southern California cities. And many interests remain loyal to CalFed despite their disappointment, in part because they do not want courts to set water policy.

But some are running out of patience.

The California Farm Bureau has sued CalFed, claiming it ignored the economic harm caused by diverting water from farms to the environment. In November, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California went its own way and asked voters to rally behind a $3.4 billion water bond that would study the best locations for new local reservoirs. And plans to formalize CalFed languish in the House and Senate because politicians want to protect the competing water interests they represent — north and south, farmers and cities, environmentalists and taxpayer advocates.

When farmers, cities and environmentalists were negotiating beneath the CalFed umbrella, there were high hopes for compromise. But getting agreement around a table is one thing. Subjecting that agreement to the manipulations of a political arena like Congress is another.

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*Contributing Editor Dana Wilke is a Washington correspondent for the* San Diego Union Tribune. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**



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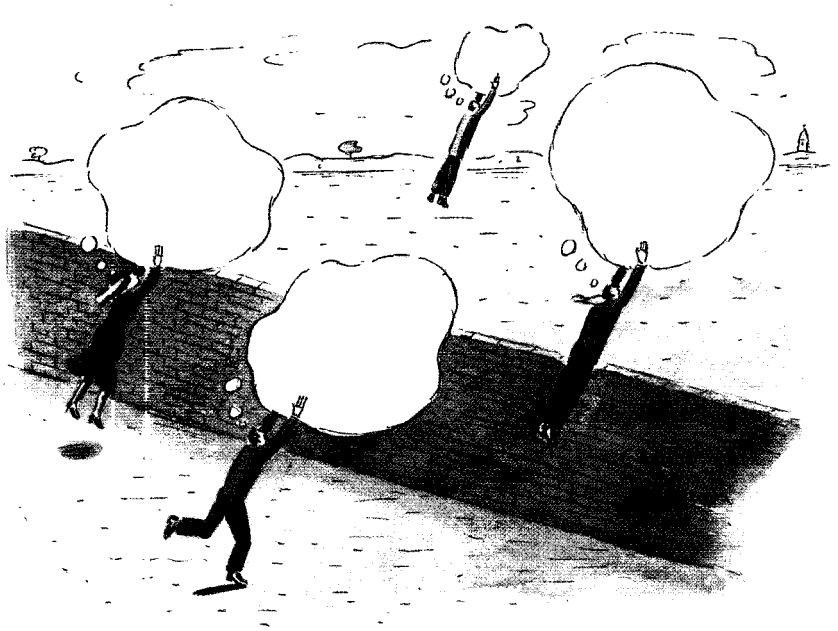
# Imaginative thinking can overcome obstacles



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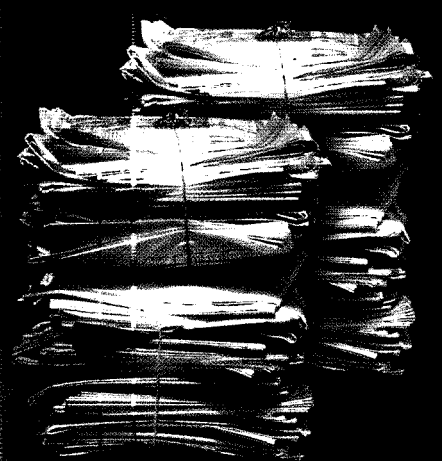

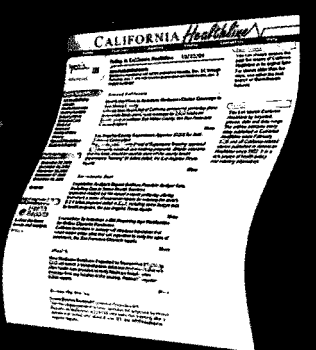


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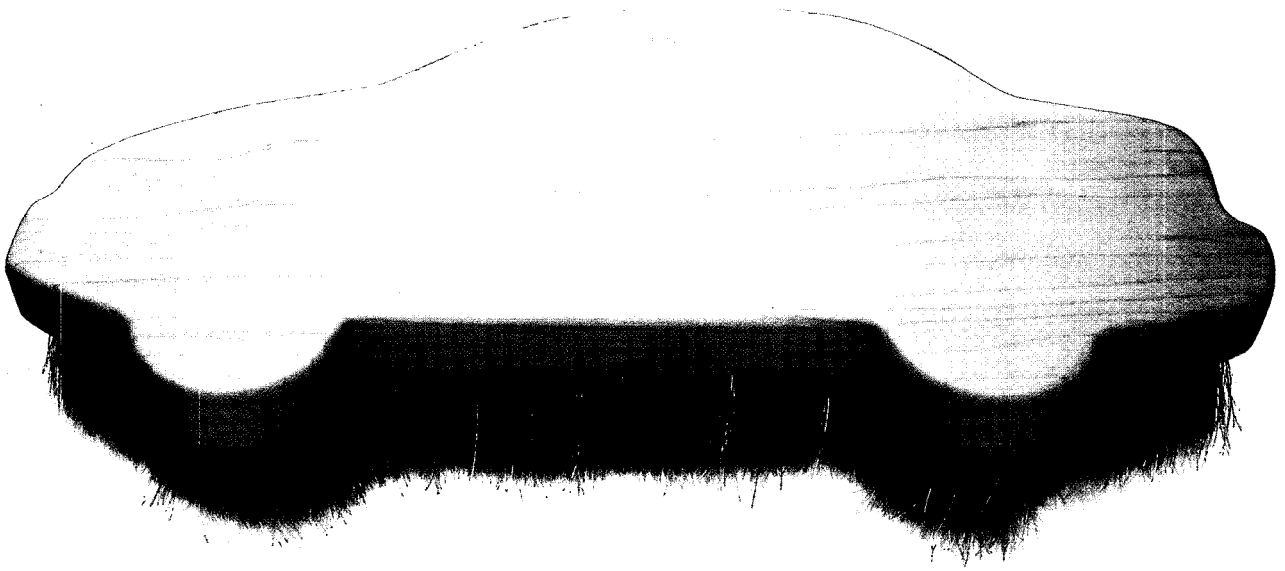

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